The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE
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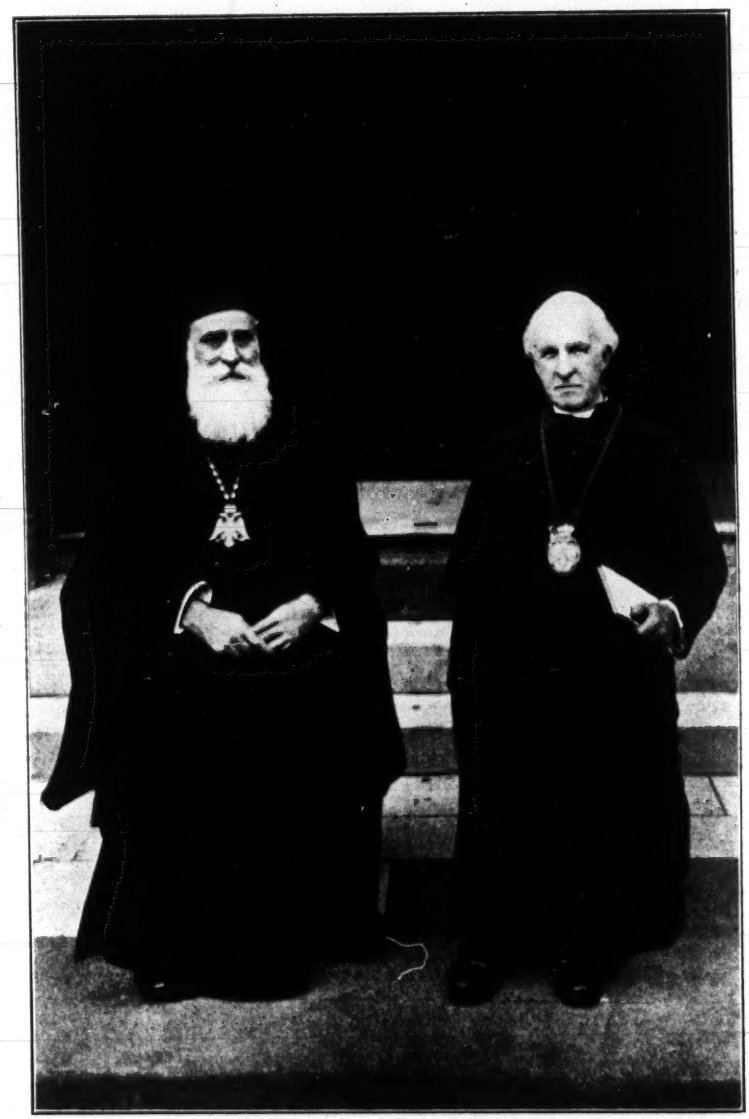

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HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY WITH THE POPE AND PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA AT LAMBETH PALACE, TUESDAY, JULY 8TH, 1930.

AUTUMN, 1930.] [VOL. XI. NO. 3.

The Christian East

THE PURPORT OF THE RECENT ORTHODOX DELEGATION.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

A GOOD deal of water has flowed up and down past Lambeth Palace since my article on the Orthodox Delegation appeared in the summer number of *The Christian East*.

I had to write that article during the first week of the Lambeth Conference, in minutes snatched from my work as Reception Secretary for the Delegation. Although I could have wished to have written it at leisure, it served its purpose which was twofold.

On the one hand, I wished to show that there was nothing sudden or fortuitous in the Archbishop of Canterbury's having invited the Œcumenical Patriarch to arrange with the authorities of the other Orthodox autokephalous churches for the dispatch of the Delegation, but that the time had ripened both for a striking demonstration that, as the Œcumenical Patriarch had put it, the relations of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches had passed beyond the stage of "friendliness" and had become "fraternal," and also for the initiation of official discussions as to the possibility of the union of the two Churches.

On the other hand, my object was to forestall the mischievous deduction that the Delegation had been sent to negotiate either their Union or their Intercommunion, and to indicate the maximum which it could be expected to achieve.

For that end, I sketched the very wonderful approximation which has taken place between the two Churches in the past 30 years. In doing so, I was at pains to attract attention to a fact which far too often escapes notice.

All the solidarity in "Life and Work" movements and all the will for Union conceivable may exist between two Churches, but to whatever minimum you reduce the formulæ of that agreement, their dogmatic agreement is the necessary and indispensable preliminary of their Union.

The visit of the Delegation had become desirable and, indeed, almost inevitable, not so much because their common experiences and their mutual practical services since 1914 had drawn Anglicans and Orthodox together, as because the possibility of their dogmatic agreement had emerged upon the horizon.

Thirty years ago, the general body of Orthodox theologians were not only ignorant of the history and dogmatic position of the Anglican Church, but were prejudiced to assume that it preserved its Episcopal ministry as a souvenir, that its sacraments were simply external ceremonies or nude commemorations, and that it was comprehensive in the sense that it disclaimed a dogmatic system and in the region of dogma authenticated fundamentally conflicting doctrines as alternative.

To-day, while of necessity it remains the case that only a percentage of Orthodox theologians have been able themselves to investigate the history of the Anglican Church, its doctrinal position as set forth in its formularies and its present-day life, those who have been drawn to make opportunity to do so, have pronounced with practical unanimity that its claim to be in true continuity with the primitive churches of the British Isles is worthy of serious consideration. In consequence, though it still lingers among the less well informed, the prejudice which adjudged the Anglican Church to be an indiscriminately "comprehensive" Protestant sect and was formerly prevalent among Orthodox theologians thirty years ago, has been largely dissipated and has been replaced by a general predisposition to recognize the Anglican Church as a "sister" church, *i.e.*, to find that it presents the necessary criteria for recognizing that its mystic life is akin with their own.

That in their investigation into the nature and history of the Anglican Church, Orthodox theologians have concentrated their attention very largely on the single issue of whether the Orthodox Church can accept Anglican ordinations as valid, is not due to Pope Leo XIII.'s bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*, of 1896. His condemnation of our Orders certainly did us the inestimable, if unintentional, service of stimulating Orthodox theologians to make independent enquiry as to whether his verdict was justified on Orthodox principles. But, in any case, once they addressed their attention to the possibility of the Union of the two Churches, their enquiry must have become focussed upon the possibility of the Orthodox Church accepting our Ministry as valid.

It may be, though I do not think that it is, that the more logical method of examining whether Union between two Churches would be a real Union, is to begin with the great, primary Christological truths and to work on from dogmatic agreement upon them until agreement is reached upon the ecclesiastical dogmas set forth in the third part of the Creed, *i.e.*, upon the nature of the Church, upon the mediation of its unique mystic life, upon its Sacraments and upon its Ministry.

But in the case of Churches of which the system is characteristically sacramental, the converse method is the more natural, the readier and the safer.

For them Union and Intercommunion are inseparable, if distinguishable, terms.

The Union of two Churches signifies their recognition of the fact that whatever their external diversities, their mystic life is mediated in essentially the same way. Their Intercommunion is the fruit of that recognition and signifies that the sacramental systems through which their mystic life is mediated are essentially identical.

To imagine that you share with others in a sacrament simply by sharing in its outward and visible sign is to reduce it to the level of what the Bishop of Birmingham has styled a "magical practice." For the Intercommunion of two Churches it is not enough that their sacramental systems can be equated by their external features. Their conception of what the Sacraments are in themselves, of their purpose, meaning and so on, must be essentially identical.

The requirement of the most rigid theory of an Apostolic Ministry cannot be confined to the presence of an external unbroken succession. It must find place for the power and function conferred through that succession.

To ask what a Church means by its Ministry is thus tantamount to asking it in the first instance what it means by its Sacraments and ultimately what it means by itself.

Accordingly, and especially because, except in regard to the Filioque, there appeared to be no dogmatic opposition between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism in regard to the Doctrine of the Trinity, an investigation of the validity of Anglican Orders was the natural starting point for an Orthodox examination of the possibility of Union between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches. At any rate, though necessarily their investigation has not only covered the whole region of the Anglican sacramental system but has involved the enquiry as to whether in the Anglican Church the functions of governing the flock, of safeguarding the Faith and of exercising discipline rest with the bishops as being, in succession to the Apostles, its chief pastors, all Orthodox theologians who have undertaken the study of the Anglican Church during the past thirty years have addressed their attention to the validity of our Orders.

Archbishop Chrysostom of Athens' lucid and exhaustive narrative of the Orthodox enquiry into the question of Anglican Orders, of which I have myself a translation now in the press, shows that no Orthodox theologian who has studied the matter has failed to concur with the conclusions published by the Russian Bulgakov in 1898 and the Greek Androutsos in 1904. Those conclusions were (1) that on the external side the Apostolic Succession of the Anglican Ministry has been unbroken, and (2) that, *prima facie*, and on the evidence of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles, except for what appears to be ambiguous and for their conflicting interpretation by Anglicans themselves, the meaning, purpose and function assigned

by the Anglican Church to its Ministry would warrant the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox Church. For the removal of all doubt, however, Bulgakov and Androutsos held an explicit answer by the whole Anglican Episcopate to certain questions which they stated to be necessary.

Very much has happened since 1904. In general, a steady consensus has been developed among Orthodox theologians who have gained close first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Church that if *lex orandi lex credendi* be taken as a governing principle, and if Anglican formularies be allowed to speak for themselves, the Anglican conceptions and the Orthodox conceptions of the Apostolic Succession and of the Episcopal office, of Grace conferred in Holy Orders, of the Real Presence in the Eucharist and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are closely cognate, if not identical. Russians of such weight as the Metropolitan Antony of Kiev and Professor Glubokovsky, and Greeks of such weight as the martyred Metropolitan Chrysostom of Smyrna and the late Professor Komnenos, have declared themselves to be convinced personally that the facts warrant the acceptance by the Orthodox Church of Anglican Orders as valid. The last named held, indeed, that the case for their acceptance was so overwhelming that there was no occasion for further enquiry and urged, in 1921, that the Œcumenical Patriarchate should declare its acceptance of them and invite the other autokephalous Orthodox Churches to concur with it in that declaration.

In 1922 the Holy Synod of the Œcumenical Patriarchate brought to an end the long and intermittent investigation of Anglican Ordinations which it had begun in 1902 at the instigation of some American Anglicans. Influenced, no doubt, by the cogency of Professor Komnenos' writings—he was the Secretary of its *ad hoc* Commission which included, however, theologians of such authority as the late Œcumenical Patriarch Basil III.—but none the less of its own unanimous and matured judgment, the Holy Synod of the Great Church of Constantinople resolved that it accepted Anglican Orders as no less valid than Roman Catholic and other Orders the validity of which together with the whole Orthodox Church it had always recognized as being capable of acceptance. His All Holiness the Patriarch Meletios, now of Alexandria and at that time of Constantinople, at once notified that decision to Lord Davidson, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and issued an Encyclical to his brother Patriarchs and the other chief bishops of the Orthodox autokephalous churches, inviting them to associate themselves with that notification. It is true that of the other Seven Churches, which were then autokephalous and to which that encyclical was addressed,[1]

[1] It was impossible, of course, at the time that the Patriarchate of Russia, which is perhaps the greatest of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, should either receive or answer the Encyclical which also, the Bulgarian Church being in schism with the Œcumenical Patriarchate, was not addressed to the Synod of that Church.

only two, the Churches of Jerusalem and Cyprus, replied in the affirmative and that up to the present with the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, the Patriarchate of Rumania, the Serb Patriarchate and the Church of Greece have refrained from replying to it.

Except Antioch, the four ancient Patriarchates are Greek institutions, as is also Cyprus. They have great prestige as well as dignity. But even including those in the diocese of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, which are now in Greece, their flocks together total no more than 2,000,000. On the other hand, the flock of the Rumanian Patriarchate totals thirteen and a half millions, that of the Serb Patriarchate six millions, and that of the Church of Greece five and half millions. So that, to say nothing of the Patriarchate of Russia (one hundred and twenty millions), or the Churches of Bulgaria (five millions) and of Poland (five millions) which has since been recognized as autokephalous, only a small fraction of the Orthodox Church and that itself a fraction of the Greek element in it, has formally accepted the validity of Anglican Orders.

The reticence, however, of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches which did not reply to the Patriarch Meletios is to be construed as a suspension of decision upon the Œcumenical Patriarchate's judgment and not as its rejection.

The theory of Œcumenicity points to the requirement of the unanimous and collective agreement of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches before action is taken by any Church even in a matter of otherwise domestic concern to itself which involves dogma.

If, as an outsider, I may trench on so delicate a matter, I have concluded that for this reason a strong current of opinion exists in the Churches which are characteristically Greek, no less than in the Rumanian and in the Slav Churches that, though the prescriptive function of the Œcumenical Patriarchate warranted its informing the other autokephalous Churches of the decision at which it had arrived, its action in notifying that decision publicly to the Archbishop of Canterbury was mistaken.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate, or Great Church of Constantinople, is the primatial Orthodox autokephalous Church, but it is so only as the first among equal sister Churches and cannot speak for them without their consent. A decision of the question of the validity of Anglican Orders cannot be domestic to any single Orthodox autokephalous Church. Its practical consequences involve the relations of the whole Orthodox Church with the whole Anglican Church.

In view of the political circumstances of the Near East, an open opposition upon such a matter between two Orthodox autokephalous Churches of contrasted nationalities must have had divisive repercussions upon the supranational complex of Orthodoxy. If, for

example, after examining the whole question, the Serb Church had identified itself synodically with the Œcumenical Patriarchate's judgment but the Rumanian Church had declared itself unable to do so, a colour might have been found for the suspicion of a special liaison between the Serb Orthodox and the whole Anglican Church, and for other reasons the position created would have been generally mischievous and undesirable.

Moreover, in 1922, even though the state of the Near East and the situation in Russia rendered the early possibility of the holding of a General Synod of the whole Orthodox Church improbable, the Orthodox autokephalous Churches were already conscious of their need to take collective action upon the many pressing issues which modern life and the modern world had forced and are forcing upon their attention, and were already discussing the machinery for arriving at a common mind upon them.

Doubtless, in themselves, such considerations would have influenced the Rumanian, Serb and Greek Churches to refrain from committing themselves. But, in fact, none of them was really equipped to give a reply to the Œcumenical Patriarchate's Encyclical. In each of them there were theologians of standing, whose study and first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Church had satisfied them that its Orders ought to be accepted. But the most that could be said was that the old prejudice which assumed that the Anglican Church is a "comprehensive Protestant sect," and can never be recognized by the Orthodox Church as a "sister" Church, had been largely dissipated and replaced by a predisposition to find it to be so.

For the decision of questions involving dogma, however, predisposition is insufficient. Conviction is necessary.

Moreover, while on Orthodox principles the possibility of the acceptance of Anglican Orders is an abstract question which can be decided conclusively only on dogmatic grounds, it presented itself also in Rumania, Yugo-Slavia and Greece as a very practical question. For behind it followed the question of that which I have termed[1] Economic Intercommunion between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches.

Economy is the relaxation of the letter of the law in order to provide for the exigencies of the well-being, either of the individual Christian or of the Church as a whole, and may be described as the paramouncy of the wisdom of charity in action. Its exercise is a duty and the only region from which its operation is excluded is that of dogma, but except in emergency its expediency is to be decided by authority and not by individual judgment.

A striking instance of the exercise of Economy by the Orthodox among themselves is their toleration of the administration of Baptism

[1] See my Memorandum appended to the Report of the Archbishop's Committee on the Reports of the Lausanne Conference. S.P.C.K. 1930.

by affusion and not by immersion which is prevalent among the Orthodox of Croatia, Slovenia and Dalmatia. Good instances of its exercise by them in regard to their relations with non-Orthodox Churches are supplied by the permission accorded to the Orthodox who are in isolation in those lands which, before the War, belonged to Austria-Hungary and now belong to Rumania and Yugo-Slavia, to receive the Marriage Blessing from non-Orthodox ministers and to have their children baptized by them. Indeed, strictly speaking, since the Orthodox Church cannot recognize any sacrament administered outside itself as valid *per se*, its uniform acceptance of all Trinitarian Baptism and of the Orders of the Roman and of the so-called Nestorian and Monophysite Churches is by economy.

Economic Intercommunion, *i.e.*, the mutual resort of the Orthodox and of the members of a non-Orthodox Church to each other's clergy for the Sacraments and particularly to Holy Communion, presents itself logically as a possible extension of such economy. But expediency and not logic controls the exercise of economy. To the Orthodox mind, the Eucharist is the supreme bond of Church Unity, because it is the supreme medium of that unique mystic life which is shared by the members of the Church and which can be intelligible only by experience of it. On their own principles, the Orthodox cannot admit the interchangeability of their Eucharist with the Eucharist of other Churches which have conceptions both of the One Holy Church and of the Eucharist that conflict fundamentally with their own.

Thirty years ago, the most that could be said was that the Orthodox authorities had not pronounced upon the permissibility of Economic Intercommunion in any case,[1] and that in general Orthodox theologians were inclined to rule it out as a practical, if not theoretical, impossibility.

By 1922, however, instances of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion had become so numerous and widespread that a decision on the matter had become pressing if not imperative.

It was not only that during and after the War it had become frequent for Orthodox bishops to authorize the Communion of Anglicans by their clergy when in emergency and isolation, or as in the case of Canon Garland, whom the late Patriarch Gregory of Antioch himself invited to receive Communion on the Orthodox Christmas Day of 1919.[2] Certainly the widespread authorization of

[1] In practice, though on rare occasions, it appears that Armenians have for many years been admitted when in isolation and emergency to the Orthodox Eucharist.

[2] "Two priests now came, placed upon me vestments similar to their own, and led me to the altar, putting me next to the Bishop who was assisting the Patriarch, and above the other priests. At the proper times I received the kiss of peace and was censed, and in the Great Procession was given a small hand cross to carry, following the priests bearing paten and chalice. After the Patriarch had communicated himself he retired to a corner and knelt down in devotion. It was wonderful

Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion during the War period presupposed that those who authorized it held it to be theoretically permissible. But it did not presuppose indefinite continuance.

The real urgency for a decision was the presence in all the English-speaking lands of very considerable Orthodox dispersions, a large proportion of which is in permanent destitution of the Sacraments. Thus, of the three and a half million Orthodox in the United States, Dr. Emhardt, the American Episcopal Church's Field Secretary for the Foreign Born, informs me that one and a half millions are so scattered all over that vast country that even if the number of Orthodox clergy was multiplied by ten it would be practically impossible for them to receive Communion even once in a year.

What is to become of these people, of the single families and of the small groups of families which live in particular overseas towns and villages? How are they to obtain even the Marriage Blessing or Baptism and religious instruction for their children?

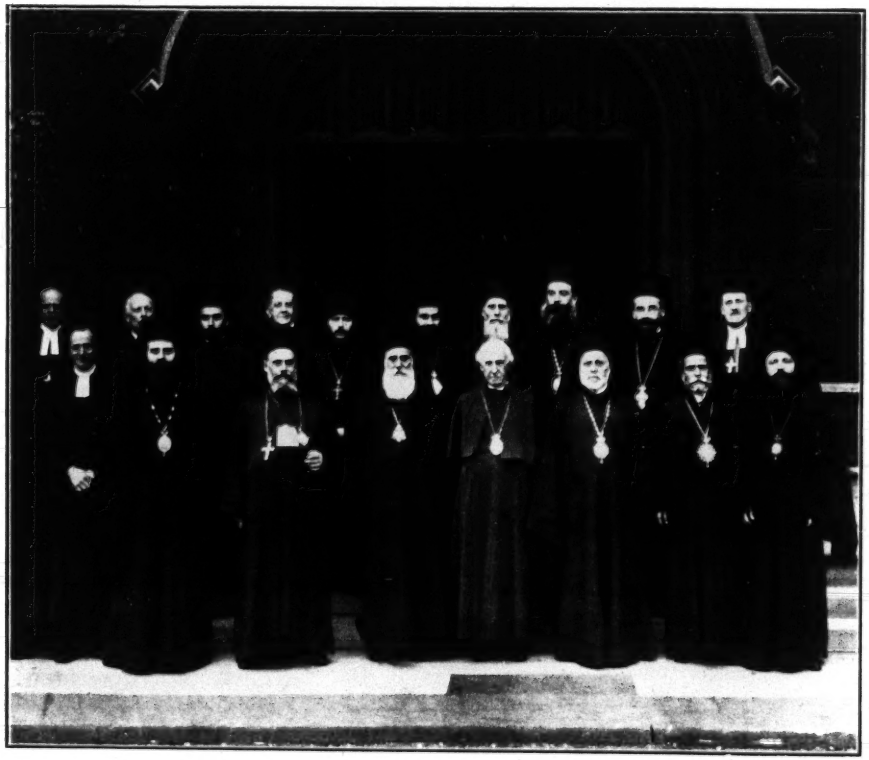
If Anglican and Orthodox Economic Intercommunion is permissible in their case, the problem is solved. They can remain Orthodox and the Anglican Church can undertake their pastoral care for so long, though only for so long, as they are isolated from their own clergy. But if its permissibility is impossible, they must remain in complete isolation from all church life at the risk of lapsing into practical atheism, must attach themselves without authorization to their local Anglican congregation or pass over either to the Roman Catholic Church, which is active to proselytize them, or to the non-Episcopal Churches which invite them to accede to them.

The "fraternal relations" of the two Churches forbid the Anglican clergy not only from offering them spiritual hospitality without the approval of the Orthodox authorities of whom some give it, others withhold it and others again are silent, but even from extending it to them without approval when they beg for it.

Accordingly the uncertainty as to whether Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion is permissible has produced the almost intolerable position that, on the one hand, Orthodox persons in genuine isolation and real destitution of sacramental life ask the Anglican clergy to minister to them and, when refused, quote cases of their fellow Orthodox whose request in like circumstances is granted, and on the other hand, the Anglican clergy have to stand by with folded hands while their Orthodox fellow citizens lapse into atheism or are absorbed into Romanism and Protestantism.

watching him; priests came and lovingly kissed his robe and hand, but he remained absorbed in prayer. The Bishop took his place to give the Holy Communion to the priests. I stood back, but a priest came and led me forward with the others, and I had the privilege of receiving the Holy Communion, being addressed by my Christian name as I was communicated separately in each kind." *The Christian East*, Vol. 1, p. 117.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY WITH THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION AND ITS ATTENDANT ANGLICAN CHAPLAINS AT LAMBETH PALACE, TUESDAY, JULY 8TH, 1930.



Front Row: The Rev. R. M. French, the Metropolitan of Epiphaneia (Antioch), Archbishop Nektarie of the Bukowina (Rumania), the Pope and Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Lang, Archbishop Germanos of Thyateira, Archbishop Timotheos of Jordan, the Coadjutor Bishop Parsse of Sofia (Bulgaria).

Back Row: The Rev. Dr. Eimhardt, the Rev. E. N. Heazell, the Patriarch's Deacon Anthonios Rosmaris, Canon J. A. Douglas, the Archimandrite Sabbas Sovietoff (Poland), the Bishop-designate Leontios of Paphos (Cyprus), Bishop Irenay of Novi Sad, Bishop Athenagoras of Corcyra (Greece), the Great Archimandrite Michael Constantinides (Greece), the Rev. R. M. Burough.

The overseas need for a decision one way or the other, which was there before the War,[1] and has been rendered insistent by the frequency of instances of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion in Europe, has perhaps not been fully perceived even to-day by the home authorities of all Orthodox autokephalous Churches. But in 1922 its urgency was already being brought home to them.

Indeed, the conversations which he held with the overseas Anglican bishops during his visit to London in 1920 as a member of the Œcumenical Patriarchate's delegation to the Sixth Lambeth Conference, so convinced Professor Komnenos that the urgency of the question was pressing that, as he himself informed me, it was in order to hasten a decision that once the Commission of the Holy Synod had arrived at the conclusion that Anglican Orders were capable of acceptance as valid by the Orthodox Church, he persuaded it to recommend that the Œcumenical Patriarchate should forthwith declare its acceptance and should invite the other Orthodox Churches to do the same. To that recommendation, and as its practical consequence, he secured the addition of another which he supported by adducing the precedent that, in century XII, Latin prisoners in Egypt were admitted by the Patriarch of Alexandria to Communion, to the effect that the Œcumenical Patriarchate should at once authorize its own people and should recommend the other Orthodox autokephalous Churches to authorize theirs, to resort when in long isolation or genuine emergency to the Anglican clergy not only for the Marriage Blessing and Baptism but also for Holy Communion.

It is true that the Œcumenical Patriarchate acted only on the former recommendation, but Professor Komnenos had published his report. Everyone knew that the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate had accepted his second recommendation and that, if all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches replied in the affirmative to the invitation to accept Anglican Orders as valid, a second Encyclical inviting them to concur in the establishment of a restricted and regulated Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion would follow.

Under the circumstances, of which I have given a brief conspexus above, it is not surprising that all but two of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches which received the Œcumenical Patriarch's Encyclical refrained from replying to it. Looking back, I venture to be glad that they did refrain. In spite of the urgency, the time was not ripe for a decision. The solution of questions of such dogmatic importance as the validity of Anglican Orders and of such practical and far-reaching importance as the establishment of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion overseas cannot be

[1] The Œcumenical Patriarchate was stirred to begin its investigation of Anglican Orders as far back as 1902, by an enquiry on the subject addressed to it by six American priests.

satisfactorily and finally arrived at on second-hand information. Over and above the risk of the conclusions of the Rumanian, Serb and Greek Churches not being identical with those of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and over and above the fact that decisions from neither the Russian Church nor the Bulgarian could be expected, theological opinion in Rumania, Serbia and Greece required to be matured as to the validity of Anglican Orders and the general public in those countries was not prepared for so startling a departure as the authorization of *Communio in Sacris* in any form whatever with a non-Orthodox Church.

Thus the most obvious, wise and rightful course was taken and the final solution of both questions was deferred until as it were the two Churches could meet face to face, and after the doubts had been stated by its accredited representatives and had been answered by the accredited representatives of all the Anglican Churches, the whole Orthodox Church either rejected the validity of our Orders, and with it the permissibility of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion or accepted the former and proceeded to decide upon the latter.

Nevertheless, even if the Œcumenical Patriarchate's initiative was not conclusive, it was effective.

If it left the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox a still open question, it left it in the position of a case which has been declared good in a lower court and the ratification of which is pending in a higher court. So far as I am aware, no Orthodox writer of authority has appealed against it as a wrong judgment. Since 1922 the position has been that its general endorsement is deferred until the certainty of its premises shall have been put beyond doubt by an answer of the whole Anglican Episcopate to certain questions.

To estimate the trend of opinion on a matter which is waiting for final and judicial decision and is not of open controversy, is very difficult, but so far as I have been able to observe, though not uniformly in all Orthodox countries, the increased attention to the question of Anglican Orders aroused among the Orthodox generally on account of their acceptance by the Œcumenical Patriarchate has greatly strengthened and largely extended the predisposition[1] to expect that when the final Orthodox verdict is given upon them it will be favourable. At the same time, it has done much to familiarize the more conservative Orthodox clergy and laity to whom the possibility of being in any form of Communion whatever with a Western Church after nine centuries of schism is inevitably startling, with the possibility of Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion.

In regard to Anglican-Orthodox Economic Intercommunion, the

[1] For reasons glanced at above, less attention has been given to the matter in Rumania than in Serbia, in Serbia than in Bulgaria and in Bulgaria than in Greece.

great increase of its authorization which, as was to have been expected, resulted from the acceptance of Anglican Orders as valid by the Œcumenical Patriarch, must in no way be interpreted as indicating a common mind among the Orthodox, even as to its theoretical permissibility.

All that can be said is that while few or any Orthodox theologians would rule Economic Intercommunion as being *per se* altogether not permissible, their opinion is divided between those who hold that until the Orthodox Church has decided that it is permissible with the Anglican Church, it may be authorized with great reserve in individual cases and those who hold that until then it ought not to be authorized at all.

From all this—and that is why I have let my pen run on—it will be apparent that, although it was well that the Œcumenical Patriarchate's Encyclical of 1922 did not receive an answer from all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, the position created by it could not drag on indefinitely. None the less, though during the past seven years the delay has caused them anxiety, and indeed many have chafed at it, those Anglicans and Orthodox who are most intimately concerned in the movement have remained agreed that it was altogether necessary.

If, and when it is made, the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox will be no isolated, abstract pronouncement. By establishing that the Orthodox and Anglicans are very near to dogmatic agreement in the region in which dogmatic agreement is most difficult, it will bring their full Union and Intercommunion definitely on to the horizon, and, even if it does not open the door to their Economic Intercommunion as a *modus vivendi* pending their Union, it will bring their world-wide and vast Communions into the closest solidarity.

There is nothing exclusive in the approximation of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. Their Union would both prepare the ground for the general Union of the Christian Churches and would be the greatest practical contribution to the cause of international goodwill and brotherhood that has been made in modern times. That inability to wait patiently for a few years should have jeopardized a project fraught with such momentous consequences, not only to the two Churches immediately concerned, but to all Christendom, and to humanity would have been no less a crime than a folly.

As I have said above, a final and incontestable decision upon Anglican Orders can be made only by the whole Orthodox Church, and a large section of Orthodox theologians are of opinion that such a decision ought not to be made unless and until by a declaration of its whole episcopate the whole Anglican Church has elucidated its dogmatic teaching in regard to its Ministry and its Sacraments.

Assuming that without such an elucidation the Holy Synods of the Rumanian, Serb and other Orthodox autokephalous Churches which have not replied to the Constantinople Encyclical of 1922, after proceeding to review the grounds on which that Encyclical was issued, had intimated their assent to its invitation, the whole of the Orthodox Church would have been formally unanimous in its acceptance of Anglican Orders, but the decision would have been open to the challenge that it had been given without due knowledge, and nobody who is aware of the vigour, efficiency and persistency of Roman Catholic propaganda in Orthodox countries can doubt but that it would so have been challenged.

The *terrain* for Christian Re-union cannot be prepared by the secret methods of the old diplomacy, and there are a hundred overwhelming reasons why the suggestion of their employment in this matter should be made as absurd is groundless.

The single and no less obvious way by which real progress could be made was that a Delegation, truly representative of the whole Orthodox Church, should attend the recent Lambeth Conference, and should indicate precisely, and by the most searching questions, the exact points on which answers made by it as a Conference of the whole Anglican Episcopate would enable the whole Orthodox Church to reach a final and common mind on the crucial question as to whether it can pronounce the validity of the Anglican Ministry to be capable of acceptance by it.

That was the reason why the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee on the Lausanne Reports recommended him to give the invitation for such a Delegation to attend the Conference, and that was the reason why over and above their desire to demonstrate the fraternal character of the relations between the two Churches his Grace's invitation was accepted with alacrity by the Orthodox autokephalous Churches and why its personnel was of great authority and of real theological distinction.

From the nature of the case the Delegation was not plenipotentiary. By its invitation and by its mandate, its function was limited to enquiry and discussion with a view to discovering whether it could state a case for the acceptance of the Anglican Ministry for the collective consideration of the whole Orthodox Church. That such collective consideration could be given at an early date would have seemed highly improbable two years ago. The project of an Orthodox General Council had been mooted immediately after the War, but had been relegated to an indefinite future, not only on account of the general state of Russia and of the Near East, but because the position of the Œcumenical Patriarchate which must convene it had become extremely precarious after the re-occupation of Constantinople by the Turks. In 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne had guaranteed the Œcumenical Patriarch's security. None the less,

the Turkish Government eyed it with a jealous suspicion which precluded its liberty of action.

Three years ago, however, an Orthodox General Council being out of the question, the Œcumenical Patriarchate proposed the holding of a Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church, *i.e.*, of a Synod consisting of representatives of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, the decisions of which, if accepted by their home authorities, would become decisions of the whole Orthodox Church. The Orthodox autokephalous Churches which are conscious of the need of collective consultation and action upon many questions welcomed the proposal. The Turkish Government, however, forbade the Œcumenical Patriarchate's convening such a Pro-Synod in Constantinople or sending representatives to it anywhere and it was only last year that that veto was lifted.

The path being at last free for the holding of the Pro-Synod, a Commission, consisting of delegates from each of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, had met in Mt. Athos last June, made preliminary arrangements for its convention and fixed its agenda, among which the question of Orthodox and Anglican relations occupy a chief place. The date of its assembly is not fixed, but is planned for next year.

Accordingly, though it would be unsafe to regard the holding of the Orthodox Pro-Synod next year as certain, when the Delegation came to London last July, there was a good prospect that any agreement it achieved with our bishops might, if endorsed by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference, be submitted next year to the Pro-Synod.

If I may be pardoned a personal opinion, I had expected much from the Delegation's visit, but, to be frank, I had hardly dared to hope that, after posing practically all the questions which Orthodox theologians had indicated as necessary, it would be able to declare its unanimous satisfaction with the statements made to it by the sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on the Unity of the Church, and that the plenum of the Conference would endorse those statements as containing " a sufficient account of the teaching and practice of the Church of England and of the Churches in communion with it."[1] My saying that does not mean that I did not believe that the great body of centrally-minded Anglicans could not give clear and unambiguous answers to the questions which I knew that the Delegation must put. On the contrary. It is true, as I wrote in the last issue of the *Christian East*, that twenty-five years ago, with W. J. Birkbeck, Bishop Collins and others, who then led our movement, I held the opinion that dogmatic agreement between the two Churches was rendered unthinkable by our own Anglican conflicts over the interpretation of the nature, history and teaching

[1] Resolution 33(*c*) of the Seventh Lambeth Conference.

of our Church. But it is also true that, while I have always believed that an authentic interpretation of the dogmatic position of the Anglican Church would show it to be identical with that of the Orthodox Church, it is only in the last decade that I have perceived that, if only the whole Orthodox Church could discuss its dogmatic teaching with the whole Anglican Church in a clear atmosphere of goodwill and in terms of " things of themselves " and not of controversy, they would be found to be in dogmatic agreement upon every point necessary for their Union. In other words, if the extremely sectionally-minded Anglicans of any and every school of thought be ignored, as they ought to be ignored, I had come to be sanguine that a Central Anglicanism would emerge which would be a genuine expression of the beliefs of all centrally-minded Anglicans, whether of High Church, Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical or Modernist tendencies, and would at once be recognized by all Orthodox theologians not only as compatible, but as essentially identical, with the broad current of Orthodox life and tradition.

My personal anxiety, therefore, in knowing that the dogmatic agreement which I believe to exist substantially between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches was to be put to the test by the visit of the Delegation, consisted in my fear that our sharp domestic Anglican controversies might prevent the bishops, with whom they would confer, from framing answers to the questions which were to be put then, in satisfactory terms, or if such answers were given, that the plenum of the Conference might not endorse them.

As I understand them, the doubts of the Orthodox are to be attributed wholly to the impression that the Anglican Church is so divided by its comprehensiveness as to be incapable of stating a central Anglican position at all. So that what I feared was not only that the golden opportunity afforded by the probable following of this Lambeth Conference by an Orthodox Pro-Synod might be let slip, but also—a disaster which would have meant a set-back for many years to Anglican and Orthodox solidarity, and would have entailed lamentable consequences to the cause of Christian solidarity and with it to those of progress and of international goodwill—that the apparent confirmation of the doubt as to whether a Central Anglicanism exists at all would make the Orthodox turn away from envisaging Anglican–Orthodox Union even as a theoretical possibility.

In the event my double-minded faintheartedness proved groundless. As will be seen from the *résumé* of the statements made by the Bishop of Gloucester and his sub-committee and the summary of the discussions given in the Report of the Conference's Committee on Unity,[1] the Patriarch Meletios phrased the questions which the

[1] The Lambeth Conference, pp. 131–140.

Delegation had come to put, in their most searching form, the statements made in reply were received as plain, unambiguous and satisfactory, and were endorsed by the plenum of the Conference in the resolution from which I have quoted above.

The achievement of the visit of the Delegation is, therefore, that the whole Orthodox Church has formally expressed its doubts on the question of Anglican Orders to the whole Anglican Church and has been given a reply which its accredited delegates have pronounced to be satisfactory.

For the advance towards that full dogmatic agreement of the two Churches which would achieve their Union, it remains only for the whole Orthodox Church to open the door by implementing the agreement reached by the Delegation, either at its forthcoming Pro-Synod or by the interchange of synodical letters on the part of its autokephalous Churches.

In the field of Re-union we must sow in *specie æternitatis* and not expect to see the harvest ourselves.

But God prepares miracles.

For my own part, I am confident that if the fruit of the Delegation's work at Lambeth be garnered at Mt. Athos next year, there will be a great drawing together of all the Christian Churches and that by 1940 not only will the Union of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches with the non-episcopal Evangelical Churches be in sight, but that, as Cardinal Mercier told me, the Union of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches will have been a dynamic for that *décentralization* of the Roman Catholic Church, which is to be desired most eagerly because the change of outlook which must come with it will bring that great Church into solidarity with the rest of Christendom.

If those hopes are borne out even in part, the visit of the Delegation will prove more than comparable for its fruitfulness with any similar event in the history of Christendom since the Great Schism of 1054.

In any case, the wisdom and courage of our Archbishop in risking its invitation have been amply justified.

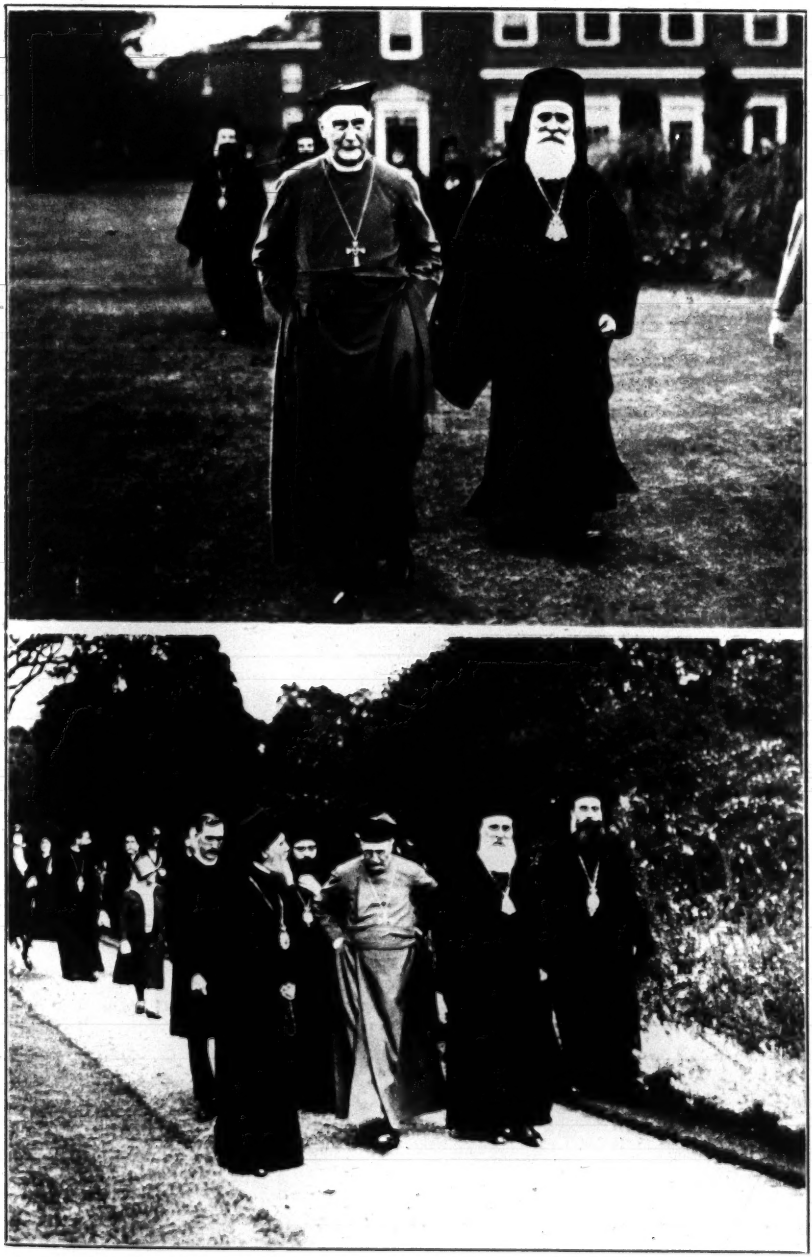
The readers of *The Christian East* will probably be of the opinion, however, that it is time that I proceeded to describe the *personnel* of the Delegation and its doings in London. I will, therefore, postpone the detailed consideration of the *résumé* of those statements which, after being made to it by the Bishop of Gloucester's sub-committee, were endorsed by the plenum of the Conference, until the Winter *Christian East*.

As I have said, the *personnel* of the Delegation was extraordinarily

authoritative and of great distinction. The Patriarch Meletios, who, by the dignity of his office, necessarily acted as its head and mouthpiece, is the most outstanding, as he is the most romantic figure among Orthodox ecclesiastics of to-day. Myself, I have watched his career with admiration since those far-off days when I first knew him in Jerusalem as a monk of the Holy Sepulchre. To sketch the details of its many stormy and dramatic vicissitudes and of its lasting and striking achievements would occupy several pages of *The Christian East*. Inasmuch as he has served in each of the five autokephalous churches which are Greek, it falls naturally into five chapters. The first takes in the years of his service in the Jerusalem Patriarchate and beginning with his being received as a novice into the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, covers a period of great disturbance and controversy[1] in the Patriarchate, in the affairs of which he played a fine part, and ends with his resignation of its chief secretaryship in 1906. From 1906 to 1917, he is gaining a great reputation, both by his pastoral work as Bishop of Kition in Cyprus, and by the sagacious ability with which he takes a chief hand in settling the schism which for several years had distracted the little Church of that island. The third chapter opens with his being called to the Archbishopric of Athens in 1917, when, under King Alexander, Greece was preparing to enter the War on the side of the Allies, and closes with his resignation on the restoration of King Constantine in 1920. An interim follows, during which he is in America for a year with an administrative commission from the Œcumenical Patriarchate and, as it is important for our purpose to notice, is learning by first hand acquaintance the pressing necessities of the Orthodox dispersion in the U.S.A. The period covered by the fourth chapter lasts only from December, 1921, when he is elected Œcumenical Patriarch, until November, 1923, when he lays down that great responsibility. In every day of those two years which witnessed the *débacle* of the Greek Army, the terrible holocaust of Smyrna, the extirpation of Christianity from Asia Minor and the triumphant occupation of Constantinople by the Kemalists, he was in personal peril. Indeed, as will be remembered, he was once actually seized in his own house by Turkish *gens d'armes*, in order to be kidnapped over the Bosphorus and hanged at Ismidt. Nevertheless, in his brief occupancy of the Œcumenical Throne, he made more history for the whole Orthodox Church than had any of his predecessors since Cyril Lukar. Thus, he held a Pan-Orthodox Conference[2] in 1923—it initiated the now almost generally accepted reform of the Kalendar and recommended other reforms which will come up at the Pro-Synod

[1] See my Introduction to Archbishop Chrysostom's Validity of Anglican Orders, now in the Press.

[2] I do not presume to express an opinion on the question of its authority which is disputed in certain other Orthodox autokephalous Churches.



PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT THE A. A. E.C.A. RECEPTION FOR THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AT FULHAM PALACE.

Copies of these photographs may be obtained from the Secretary, A. and E.C.A., St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C. Hampstead N.W.6. Price 2s. 6d. each.

for decision—recognized Anglican Orders, established the Orthodox Exarchate of Western Europe, and so on. As it happened, I was travelling in the Balkans with my friend Mr. Riley, in October, 1923, and we were able to visit him in Salonika just before his abdication of the Œcumenical Throne. Man of action that he is and therefore ambitious in the fine sense that being a practical dreamer of dreams he desires the means to carry them out, those must have been dark and bitter days for him. Seemingly the work he had done was shattered and it looked as if his career was finally closed. Nevertheless, his only thought seemed to be for his people, who had been handed over to the Turks, and for the shadow of threatened extinction which hung over the Œcumenical Patriarchate. His readiness to sacrifice himself and his own career gave us a flashlight conviction of his singleness of mind and freedom from self-seeking. It was the same when I visited him at Kephissia, near Athens, in 1925. An ex-Œcumenical Patriarch can occupy few posts, and his retirement must be complete, so that it seemed as if his inactivity must be permanent. But I found the Patriarch Meletios as delightful and cheerful a host as could be and without a word of regret or of complaint to utter. The fifth chapter of his career opened, of course, with his call, in 1927, to the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria, where he has already done no small spadework[1] and is greatly beloved.

It goes without saying, I suppose, that a reformer will always have ill-founded criticism passed upon him, but the thing which amazes me is that many of the critics of the Patriarch Meletios allege that he is ready to compromise upon the principles of Orthodoxy.

That he is inspired with a genuine passion for Reunion and spares nothing in his power to further its cause in every direction is indubitable. But I am bound to say that, in my conversations with Orthodox bishops and theologians—and I have had many such conversations in the past thirty years—I have found no one so unbending in presenting the Orthodox basis of Union. Certainly, with all his extraordinary charm and with all his eagerness to reach an agreement, our bishops found him altogether uncompromising and outspoken in the discussions of this summer. May be, the achievement of the Delegation's visit was so great because he was so.

That "admirable prelate," as the Archbishop of Canterbury has styled him, Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira, who was the Œcumenical Patriarchate's delegate, can need no introduction to the readers of *The Christian East*. They may not know, however, that no less than three of his colleagues in the Delegation were his pupils at the famous Constantinople Theological College of Halki, of which, as Metropolitan of Seleukia, he was head from 1911–1922, and which

[1] *E.g.* he has gone far to solve the difficult arabaphone Syrian question which is cognate to the same vexed question in Palestine, has developed the Alexandria Theological Academy and is now busy getting ready to build a Patriarchal Church.

since so many Orthodox bishops have been its *alumni*, might well be known as an Episcopal Training College.

The Metropolitan of Epiphaneia, Mgr. Ignatios, who represented the Patriarchate of Antioch and is a relatively young man, is a scientific theologian of no small erudition and great breadth of outlook. As are all the bishops of that Patriarchate, he is an arabophone Syrian. On his way to London, he had taken part at Mt. Athos in the preparatory work for the Pro-Synod. This was his first visit to Europe.

Again, since his undergraduate days at Oxford, Archbishop Timotheos of the Jordan has been as familiar to English Church folk as English Church life has been familiar to him. No other delegate of the Jerusalem Patriarchate was thinkable or could have been so thoroughly a *persona gratissima*.

Though it is no exaggeration to say that every member of the Delegation was a notable personality, none was more notable than the delegate of the Rumanian Patriarchate, Archbishop Nektarie. In the ancient Orthodox autokephalous Churches, the styles of Archbishop and of Metropolitan are nowadays generally titular or, if not, are held by prelates comparable to our diocesan bishops. It is different in all the Orthodox Churches of modern foundation in which, if they do not invariably connote extra-diocesan jurisdiction, the titles archbishop and metropolitan are at least attached only to sees of major importance or dignity. As the man in the street would say, Archbishop Nektarie is a real Archbishop. The history of his style of Archbishop of the Bukowina, Metropolitan of Czernautz and Patriarch, is this. Before the War, the Bukowina which is a Rumanian land, was among the Austro–Hungarian dominions, and had an Orthodox Patriarchate of its own, sc. the Patriarchate of Czernautz, or Czernowitz, as the Germans write it. There was a similar Orthodox Patriarchate in Transylvania, sc. that of Hermanstadt (Sibiu). All the Rumanian lands are now happily united in a single Kingdom, and those two Rumanian Patriarchates are now welded into the single Rumanian Patriarchate. Though he is subordinate to *the* Rumanian Patriarchate, the Archbishops of Sibiu (Hermanstadt) and Czernautz retain their jurisdictions and their styles.

The fact that, unless the Patriarch Miron Cristea had come himself, the Rumanian Church could not have sent a more distinguished delegate, was perhaps not generally appreciated in London. But Archbishop Nektarie who is not only a major personage in the Rumanian Church but in Rumanian life, is as noteworthy for his urbanity and *savoir faire* as for his distinction, and brought home to everyone with whom he came in contact—and very few of our bishops had previously had contact with a Rumanian dignitary—not only the importance of the Rumanian Church, but the culture and *tenue* of Rumanian life.

The Archbishop of Canterbury received him with marked attention.

It had been my own good fortune to be admitted to his friendship at the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences, and I have called on him at his palace in Czernautz, which is well worth seeing. He is a man of rare human sympathy and a strenuous worker for Christian Reunion. But he is also a cautious and strict theologian. His presence in the Delegation guaranteed that it would press the questions it came to ask and his satisfaction with the answers it received, is an assurance that they were clear and convincing.

My old friend, Bishop Irenäy of Novi Sad, the delegate of the Serb Patriarchate, is well known to English Church folk through his frequent visits to England at the end of the War. Conjoined with that indescribable mystic characteristic which belongs to the Serb race, he has rare ecclesiastical ability, is no mean historian and theologian, and possesses a very adequate knowledge of the history and life of the English Church. Like Archbishop Nektarie, he took part in the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences and serves on their Continuation Committees. While an Apostle of Christian Unity, he is never willing to compromise on an Orthodox principle.

During the visit of the Delegation—he speaks English fluently and with an almost perfect accent—he was much sought after as a speaker and a preacher. Those who heard it, tell me that the sermon which he preached to a great congregation in Derby Cathedral on Sunday, July 20th, held them spellbound. We found him as ever an examplar of Christian fervour, of the simplicity of Christian humility and of Christian firmness—and loved him for it.

Bishop Athenagoras of Corcyra, *i.e.*, Corfu, who represented the Church of Greece, is still in the early forties, is one of the younger Greek bishops from whom great things are expected and studied under Archbishop Germanos at Halki. He is generally beloved in his beautiful island diocese, where I saw him a few years ago—his commanding height and presence make him a picturesque figure—pontificating in the annual ceremonies of St. Spiridion, the possession of whose body is its pride. His own mind as to the theoretical permissibility of Economic Intercommunion is indicated by his having ordered that the remnant of the colony of Armenian refugees in Corfu, which is no longer large enough to support a priest of its own Church, should receive Holy Communion and other sacramental ministrations from his clergy—an economy which has been authorized by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece.

With him was associated as perforce the Great Archimandrite Michael Constantinides, who since he came to London to be Dean of the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, has become a very familiar figure in our religious life. He also is a pupil of Archbishop Germanos and a relatively young man, and is clearly marked

out by his devotion, scholarship and ability for important work.

Since his return to Greece, Bishop Athenagoras has been elected by the Greek Synod of America to be their Archbishop and has accepted that very important responsibility. In the U.S.A. he will have the immediate handling of the difficult position of which I have spoken above.

To everyone's deep regret, the Archbishop of Poland, Mgr. Dyonizy, who had intimated his intention to take part in the Delegation, was prevented at the last moment by a vital conference with the Polish Government. The Archimandrite Sabbas Sovietoff, who came in his place, is the head of the Orthodox Theological Academy of Warsaw, a youngish man and a very brilliant theologian. Like most of the Orthodox of Poland, he is Russian by race, and is possessed by all the Slav mystic *abandon*. His contribution to the Delegation in some measure made up for the absence of Russian delegates in it.

The Bulgarian Church being in schism with the Greek Church, the Œcumenical Patriarch had been precluded from asking it to accede to the Delegation. On learning, however, that a Bulgarian delegate had been at Mt. Athos for the Commission held last June to prepare for the Orthodox Pro-Synod and that the Greek Churches would approve the presence at Lambeth of a separate Bulgarian delegate, the Archbishop of Canterbury telegraphed an independent invitation to Sofia a few days before the opening of the Conference. If that invitation had been earlier, I gather, the Metropolitan Stepan of Sofia would have been the Bulgarian delegate. As it was, his coadjutor, Bishop Païssie of Znepole—the suffragan, as we should call him, of the Metropolitan of Sofia always bears that title—was nominated and reached London just too late for the Canterbury ceremony on Saturday, July 5th, but in time for the Eucharist at St. Paul's, on July 6th. Being charged with the duties of Reception Secretary to the Delegation, I had a *mauvais quart d'heure* when Bishop Païssie protested at not being seated with the Delegation. He and I are old friends, and he knew that I was powerless to do anything, but he had to protest. Happily the next day, the Patriarch Meletios informed me that though Bishop Païssie could not be included in it technically, the Delegation had decided unanimously to ask him to accompany it on all occasions and to take part in its deliberations. Unless the hope is frustrated, a bye-product of the Delegation's visit is likely to be the speeding up of the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Bishop Païssie who, like the Metropolitan Ignatios, Bishop Athenagoras and the Archimandrites Michael Constantinides and Sabbas Sovietoff, is relatively a young man, is a very competent, and withal progressive and scientifically-trained theologian, and

made a considerable contribution to the work of the Delegation. Six weeks after his return to Bulgaria, he was elected to the important see of Vratsa, which had been rendered vacant by the death of the Metropolitan Clement, the Presiding Bishop[1] of the Holy Synod of Bulgaria.

It is an open secret that the Archbishop of Canterbury had wished both the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev and the Metropolitan Evlogie, or their nominees, to be included in the Delegation. On canonical grounds, the Œcumenical Patriarchate considered itself unable to invite them and invited the Metropolitan Sergios, whom it recognizes as Acting Locum Tenens of the Russian Patriarchate, to send delegates. I understand that he replied that he would do so. But none being forthcoming, to his Grace's avowed regret and to the general disappointment, the Russian Church was entirely unrepresented in the Delegation.

It was only in February this year that the Archbishop of Canterbury had received his Lausanne Committee's recommendation, and time had run on before the Œcumenical Patriarch was in a position to notify him of the acceptance of his invitation. So that it was well on in May when his Grace gave me what I regard as one of the greatest privileges of my life by appointing me Reception Secretary to the Delegation, and by bidding me make arrangements under his direction for its entertainment, care and comfort during the period, viz., July 4th to 18th, for which its members would be his guests.

At the same time, he entrusted me with a similar function in regard to the Old Catholic Delegation and of any delegations which might come from the so-called Monophysite Churches.

In my article, in the last issue of *The Christian East*, I explained the great importance which the Orthodox have always attached to the opinion of the Old Catholics in general, and of the Dutch Old Catholic Church in particular. As things fell out, Bishop Küry of Berne was prevented by sickness from coming to London and the Old Catholic Delegation consisted of Archbishop Kenninck of Utrecht and the Bishops of Haarlem and Deventer.

In fact, the Dutch Old Catholic Church is the lineal representative of the ancient Church of Holland, which our Anglo-Saxon St. Willibrord planted in the seventh century, the Roman Catholic Church of Holland with its bishops being a modern creation.

The importance of the Old Catholics is not to be estimated by their numbers. Their significance is that they have refused to be extinguished and in defiance of the inexorable propaganda and of the

[1] The President of the Holy Synod of Bulgaria is elected by its members from among themselves. It was the death of Mgr. Clement which had made it impossible for Mgr. Stepan to leave Bulgaria on a sudden invitation.

many forces directed against them, continue to exist. If they perish, they will go down with their flag flying. In the face of aggressive Protestantism, they stand fast by every ancient Catholic tradition and, in the face of the formidable power of the Vatican, they persist in rejecting the innovations of Papal Supremacy and Infallibility.

Quite apart from the approximation between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches, the time has ripened since the failure of the premature and unofficial Bonn Conferences of 1874 and 1875 for the opening of the official discussion of full and formal Intercommunion of the Old Catholic Churches with the Anglican Church. Their unanimous recognition of the Validity of Anglican Orders was completed by a formal letter addressed in June, 1925 by the present Archbishop of Utrecht to Archbishop Davidson, with synodical authority on the part of the Church of Holland, which in its conservatism had waited until it had reached an incontestable judgment on the matter. Economic Intercommunion with the Anglican Church has been authorized by all the Old Catholic Churches.

The coincidence of the Orthodox and Old Catholic Delegations, however, proved most opportune.

Each being able to follow the progress of the other with the subcommittee of the Conference's Committee on the Unity of the Church, they were able to confer with one another upon it.

The question of the Validity of Anglican Orders being already decided from the Old Catholic standpoint and Anglican–Old Catholic Economic Intercommunion being established, the Anglican discussions with the Old Catholic were concerned with formal Intercommunion and Reunion. In result the plenum of the Conference declared that there is nothing inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England[1] in the Declaration of Utrecht, the affirmation of which is a condition of Union among the Old Catholic Churches and on the other hand, the Old Catholic Delegation expressed its complete satisfaction with the teaching of the Church of England. Accordingly, as it remains only for the Orthodox Pro-Synod to implement the dogmatic agreements reached by the Orthodox Delegation, so it remains only for the whole body of the Old Catholic bishops to implement the work of its Delegation at their next quadrennial assembly, which is due to take place at Vienna, in September, 1931.

Although the Old Catholic Delegation did not arrive in London until July 11th, and stayed only eight days, it held several conferences with the Orthodox Delegation, with the result that there is a good likelihood of the discussion of Orthodox, Old Catholic and Anglican Reunion, which broke down at Bonn fifty-five years ago,

[1] Resolution 35(c) of the Seventh Lambeth Conference. A summary of the discussions and the official English version of the Declaration are given in the Report on the Unity of the Church, Lambeth Conference, 1930, pp. 140–144.

being renewed under favourable conditions next year first at Vienna and then at Mt. Athos.

Space precludes my saying more about the Old Catholic Delegation, but what I have said will indicate the interconnection of its visit with that of the Orthodox Delegation.

I cannot resist the inclination, though, to record the general impression made by the simple dignity and learning of Archbishop Kenninck. For myself, I believe that the ancient Church of Holland cannot be doomed to extinction, but rather that it is destined to make a great contribution to the reconciliation of Roman Catholicism and Continental Protestantism on a basis of essential Catholicity. But if it is to go down under the ceaseless assaults of Dutch Calvinism and Roman ultramontanism, it will go down like a *grand seigneur*, and to the end will appeal to the Faith and practice of the Church of the Fathers and will refuse to accept the innovations of Rome.

The outlook and the pose of Archbishop Kenninck are those of quiet confident resignation, which has no doubt of itself, but carries through against the greatest odds just because it is prepared for any issue.

Anyone who desires to know more about the Old Catholics should get particulars of the Society of St. Willibrord.[1]

Etchmiadzin, the seat of the Armenian Supreme Catholicos, being in the Republic of Erivan, which is a unit of the Soviet system of Republics,[2] the Armenian Church could not send a delegate. In the condition of Egypt, a Copt delegation could not be sent. The invitation addressed to Mar Ignatios Elias III., the Patriarch of the Syrian-Orthodox (Jacobite) Church appears not to have reached him.[3]

In consequence, the only representative of the Monophysite Churches who attended the Conference was the Armenian Bishop Tourian, now in charge of the Armenian congregation in Manchester, who came on a personal invitation and not as a delegate of his Church.

Like his uncle, the scholar and poet Patriarch Tourian of Jerusalem,[4] who died last summer, Bishop Tourian is a man of wide culture. He was Armenian Bishop in Smyrna, and is held in general

[1] Its Secretary, the Rev. C. B. Moss, of Highfield Park, Oxford, is the author of a useful brochure, *The Old Catholics and Re-union*, S.P.C.K., 1927.

[2] Although Communist and controlled from Moscow, Erivan is a wholly Armenian State, is governed through Armenians and is in a measure able to give expression to the intense patriotism of the Armenian Nation.

[3] Mar Severus Barsawm, Bishop of Homs, writes me to that effect. Mar Ignatios has moved frequently from place to place since he was obliged to take refuge in Iraq in 1925 with those of his people whose homes were in Turkey. Even before the War, except for the Jacobite Church of Malabar, the flock of which is Indian, the Jacobite Church was a vestigial dispersion scattered through Syria and Mesopotamia, numbering not much more than 100,000. To-day it is in extreme disorganization.

[4] By general consent Armenians recognize him as the most outstanding literary figure of their nation during the past century.

respect by all Christians of the Near East for the courage with which he risked his life for his people during the Smyrniate holocaust.

Of course, he could not be associated with the Delegation, but with its cordial goodwill he accompanied it on ceremonial occasions and shared in most of its social engagements.

I had myself served as Reception Secretary to the Orthodox delegates who were in London for the English Nikæan Commemoration of 1925. We got through then adequately, I think, but with some difficulty and occasional hitches. If the work with which I was again entrusted this year was carried out, so as in some small way to merit the more than generous letter of thanks with which his Grace has honoured my colleagues and myself, it was because in the Nikæan Club[1] the machinery to provide men for staff work and other resources was ready to hand.

In consequence, a strong Committee was easily formed at once, and, thanks to the very ready response to the Club's financial appeal by the E.C.U., the A.C.P., the Society of the Faith and many private individuals, was able both to exercise hospitality and to arrange a programme of entertainment which were not wholly inadequate.

A flat at Whitehall Mansions was provided for the Patriarch Meletios and his entourage, which included the Deacon Anthimos Rosmaris, a young ecclesiastic of great promise, who also acted as secretary to the Delegation and whose record of his Patriarch's visit to London, published in *Pantaenos*, the official weekly of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, is a most interesting and valuable document.

Archbishop Nektarie was accommodated at the Hotel Belgravia. Archbishop Timotheos, the Metropolitan Ignatios, Bishops Irenäy, Athenagoras and Païssie, with the Archimandrites Leontios and Sabbas and Bishop Tourian were provided with hospitality in King's College Hostel, at which several of our Overseas bishops were staying.

[1] The Nikæan Club, which was founded to perpetuate the memory of the presence of the Orthodox Delegation at the Eucharist celebrated in Westminster Abbey on July 29th, 1925, as the official Church of England Commemoration of the Sixteenth Centenary of the Great Council of Nikæa, has only two functions, viz., (1) to arrange a suitable lecture and a public dinner for June 29th, the anniversary of the opening of the First Œcumenical Council, and (2), to arrange hospitality for official guests of the Church of England. Its honorary secretary, Mr. G. Gay, of 22, Buckingham Street, W.C.2., would gladly add all the readers of *The Christian East* to its roll which, instead of 200, ought to be 2,000 strong. Its subscription for life membership is only half a guinea.

PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT THE A. & E.C.A. RECEPTION FOR THE ORTHODOX DELEGATION TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AT FULHAM PALACE.

Copies (8 x 6 ins.) of these photographs may be obtained from the Secretary, A. and E.C.A., St. James' Vicarage, W. Hampstead, N.W.6. Price 2s. 6d. each.

Happily the good staff work which is essential for such a visit was also amply available. The Rev. R. M. Borough who, as Chaplain of the Crimean Church, Constantinople from 1910–1926, and the Rev. Philip Usher, who had just resigned the British Legation's Chaplaincy, made attendance on the Delegation a whole-time job. All Greek ecclesiastics are conscious of the debt their Churches owe Mr. Borough for his services to the Œcumenical Patriarchate in the post-war days. Mr. Usher, who is expert in modern Greek theology, is also a *persona gratissima* to them, and acted as Greek into English interpreter at the Delegation's discussions in Lambeth Palace. My old colleague, Dr. Emhardt, who was officially attached to the U.S.A. members of the Conference, and has a rare experience of the Orthodox complex and its leading personalities, was good enough also to join Messrs. Borough and Usher at King's College Hostel. The value of his ceaseless attendance on the Delegation was beyond estimate. Unfortunately, the Rev. H. J. Fynes Clinton was abroad, but so far as they could get free for the purpose, Canon Wigram, the Rev. R. M. French and the Rev. F. N. Heazell, each of whom is a prominent expert in our movement, were assiduous in their help. The services rendered by the Rev. C. Gage Brown and Dr. L. Patterson, who speak Serbian and Rumanian, were invaluable and unremitting, as were those of the Rev. C. B. Moss, who, as Secretary of the Society of St. Willibrord, was in special attendance on the Old Catholic Delegation. The Rev. Roy Ellis acted as our secretary.

Though some of the Orthodox delegates did not reach England until July 4th, the eve of the opening of the Lambeth Conference,[1] the programme arranged for the Orthodox Delegation actually commenced on June 27th, with an informal reception of the Patriarch Meletios at the West Door of Westminster Abbey, which he had expressed a wish to visit immediately on his arrival in London, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, the Prolocutor and other representatives of the Canterbury Convocation, Canon McCormick, the Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in which parish he was to reside, and a large body of clergy. After stopping for silent prayer at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, his All-Holiness[2] proceeded to the Shrine of St. Edward, where he rendered his

[1] The Archbishop's invitation specified July 4th to 18th as the period of the visit.

[2] As an ex-Œcumenical Patriarch he keeps the style, *Panagiotes*. The other Patriarchs are styled *Makariotes*, Beatitude.

Doxology. Mounted police had accompanied the cars in which, in company with the Greek Minister (Mr. Caclamanos), Archbishop Germanos and the leading members of the Greek colony of London, who with myself as representing the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other chaplains attached to the Delegation, had met him at Victoria, he had driven to the Abbey—the first of many marks of attention which gratified him greatly.

On Sunday, June 29th, after he had attended the Liturgy at St. Sophia, he drove with me to Stamford Bridge for the open-air High Celebration of the Anglo-Catholic Congress. If the great congregation numbering over 20,000 was deeply impressed by his striking figure as he occupied the throne of honour, the canopy of which bore the Lion of St. Mark, prepared for him on the south side of the quadrangle, his All-Holiness was even more deeply impressed by their tense devotion, the dignity of the ceremonial and the mystic beauty of the Celebration itself. To be frank, there had been some hesitation as to the wisdom of his being present at all. But the insight which he and the members of the Delegation who were with him gained by it into the life of the Church of England, proved any risk to have been wisely taken.

In the evening of the same day his All-Holiness accompanied me to St. Thomas', Regent Street, where I happened to be the preacher, and where—the church was packed—he saw another aspect of English Church life in the hearty, congregational evensong which was rendered. Before he gave the blessing, he delivered an address, which I was privileged to interpret, and in which he dwelt on the dynamic for the causes of human brotherhood and of human progress which the Union of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches must provide.

On Monday, June 30th, Mr. Caclamanos gave an official luncheon at the Greek Legation in his All-Holiness' honour. Among the guests were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lloyd, Mr. Amery, Sir Ronald Storrs, and other prominent public men.

The Society of the Faith, of which, though my brother the Rev. C. E. Douglas was its real founder and has been its inspiration and driving force, I have been Principal since its inception on July 1st, 1905, happening to be keeping its 25th anniversary the next day, his All-Holiness with Archbishop Nektarie, Bishop Irenäy and other members of the Delegation attended its commemorative Eucharist at St. Mary-le-Strand and its luncheon at the Holborn Restaurant. In the evening he was good enough, with his colleagues, to come to our Church of St. Luke, Camberwell, in order to lay the threshold stone—a slab of granite sent for the purpose by Archbishop Porphyrios of Sinai from the Holy Mountain—of a Chapel of the Holy Child, which the Society of the Faith is erecting as a memorial of its completion of a quarter of a century's life. The Chapel of Unity,

in which we celebrate our daily Eucharist, is divided from our Chapel of the Holy Sacrament by a richly gilded mahogany screen —St. Luke's is panelled and pewed in mahogany very magnificently— on and near which are hung ikons that are the gifts of the Œcumenical Patriarch and other heads of Orthodox Churches. In our back streets of South London, a touch of romance makes life and at St. Luke's we are not likely to forget that the Patriarch Meletios, Archbishop Nektarie and the rest of the Delegation prayed for Christian Union in our Chapel. Of course, their having taken part in its 25th anniversary will not be forgotten by the Society of the Faith.

The next three days were spent quietly, the Patriarch Meletios lunching with me at the Athenæum on the Friday to meet Mr. Arthur Henderson and Lord Passfield, and also attending the Garden Party of the A.C. Pilgrimage Association in Kensington Gardens.

On Saturday, July 5th, the whole Delegation drove to Canterbury for the inauguration ceremony of the Conference, and having been received at the Cathedral by the Bishop of Dover and Canon Jenkins, proceeded at once to place a wreath on Archbishop Davidson's grave. At the luncheon given by the Warden of St. Augustine's College in honour of the 309 members of the Conference, the Patriarch Meletios was assigned the principal seat on the right hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and replied for the Delegation—except that of the Warden of St. Augustine's there were no other speeches—to the warm references made to him and to Archbishops Germanos and Nektarie and the other members of the Delegation by his Grace in his speech.

The reception of the Delegation in the Cathedral at the inauguration service of the Conference was marked with every conceivable distinction. Its procession immediately preceded that of the Anglican bishops, the whole space behind the Chair of St. Augustine being reserved for its occupation during the Archbishop's allocution. Its members did not fail to perceive the unsparing pains with which the details of their reception had been worked out in order to emphasize the " fraternal relations " of the two Churches, and appreciated its balanced dignity and warmth no less than they were impressed by the simple but wonderful service itself.

It was the same in St. Paul's the next day at the Eucharist which was celebrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Archbishops of Armagh and Wales as Gospeller and Epistoler, and during which the Archbishop of York preached and all the bishops of the Conference communicated. The Delegation was received at the West Door by the Dean and Chapter and was conducted in procession up through the packed congregation which crowded the vast building, to the choir, the whole of which, the Archbishop's own throne being assigned by his direction to the Patriarch, had been reserved for its occupation.

With its historic symbolism, its glorious music and its simple but splendid ceremonial, St. Paul's afforded a worthy setting for an act so solemn as the corporate communion of the whole Anglican Episcopate on the eve of its entering into its decennial Conference which, to judge by the words of its members, gave the Delegation, as it were, a *coup d'oeil* insight into the life of the world-wide Anglican Communion, the recollection of which will be permanent and ineffaceable.

On Monday, July 7th, after dining at the Athenæum Club with the Bishop of Gloucester and some of its chaplains, the Delegation attended a reception given in its honour by Earl Beauchamp, at 13, Belgrave Square. Among the 200 guests to meet them were the Archbishop of York, with other Anglican archbishops and metropolitans, Lords Allenby, Brentwood, Dickinson, Glasgow and Jellicoe.

Though simplicity itself, the scene in the Library of Lambeth Palace at 5 p.m. on Tuesday, July 8th, when the Delegation was formally received by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the plenum of the Conference, was as notable as it was historic. One could wish that a picture of it could have been preserved. In his own name and in that of his brother chief bishops of the Anglican Churches, who had vacated their seats in front of the dais in favour of the Delegation and stood round him, his Grace, who was wearing the Œcumenical Patriarch Joachim's stavropegion, welcomed the Delegation corporately as establishing contact between the whole Anglican and the whole Orthodox Church and individually both for the distinction of its personnel and for the sake of the particular Churches which were represented in it. That done, he sketched the beginnings of Anglican and Orthodox friendship a hundred years ago and its growth into brotherly solidarity, and expressed the common desire that the discussions to be held in the following week would, by God's guidance, be fruitful in furthering the Union of the two Churches. The Patriarch Meletios answered with a few warm and well-chosen words, which Archbishop Germanos interpreted. His Grace extended a welcome to Bishop Tourian, who had accompanied the Delegation and, in reply, spoke with plain emotion of the grateful affection with which his nation remembers his Grace's acts of sympathy and those of the whole Anglican Church towards it. The Delegation withdrew, the whole Conference standing up as it had stood on its entry. And all was over.

Our photographs of his Grace alone with the Patriarch and with all the delegates and the chaplains who had attended them, were taken at the door of Lambeth Palace on the Delegation's leaving after it had taken tea with him and the leading members of the Conference.

On Wednesday, July 9th, the Delegation attended Matins in the

Abbey, and held a private conference in the Jerusalem Chamber with the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, under the chairmanship of Bishop Gore, as a preliminary to its discussions with the Bishop of Gloucester's sub-committee of the Conference.

In the evening, it was entertained to dinner by the Nikæan Club at the Holborn Restaurant, the Archbishop of York presiding, and among the 300 guests being the Polish Ambassador, the Greek, Bulgarian and Yugo-Slav Ministers, the Rumanian *chargé d'affaires*, and 78 Anglican archbishops and bishops.

On Thursday, July 10th, it drove to Cambridge, where it was received by the Master of Corpus, was entertained with academic hospitality by Mr. Stephen Gaselee, the Librarian of the Foreign Office, in Magdalen College, of which he is a fellow, and saw the chief sights of the University.

On Friday, July 11th, the Bishop of London welcomed it at Fulham Palace, at a Garden Party arranged by the A. & E.C.A.

To the Orthodox mind, the vigour of monasticism is an index of the life of a church. Saturday, July 12th, was spent in a drive, arranged by the Rev. C. Russell, through the most delightful districts of Surrey, during which the convent at Woking and the Benedictines of Alton and Nashdom were visited, the Bishop of Guildford who, as Bishop of Gibraltar, is an old friend of many of the delegates, acting as host in his Cathedral City. The Delegation found the day very instructive, as also most agreeable.

On Sunday, July 13th, the Patriarch Meletios celebrated the Eucharist in the Cathedral of St. Sophia with the fullest Patriarchal ceremonies. All the members of the Delegation took part in it, the Gospel being read in English as well as in each of the five Orthodox liturgical tongues. Archbishop Nektarie recited the Creed in Rumanian. St. Sophia's is a replica in petto of Justinian's peerless Church. I wish that I had space—and ability—to describe the impression which that Liturgy with its beauty and its associations left upon me.

At the lunch which, after its conclusion, Archbishop Germanos gave to the Greek Minister with the Delegation and its Anglican chaplains, the Patriarch expressed his satisfaction at the goodly growth of the vine which, as Œcumenical Patriarch, he planted in 1922 by sending him to be Orthodox Exarch in Western Europe and Apokrisary to Lambeth, a sentiment in which all the readers of *The Christian East* will concur. Assuredly Archbishop Germanos has been an Apostle of Anglican-Orthodox Unity. What we should have done without his goodness during his Delegation's visit, I cannot imagine.

Monday to Friday, July 14th to 18th, being reserved for the work of the Delegation with the Conference's sub-committee, the

only two remaining engagements in its official programme were a ceremonial dinner at Lambeth Palace on Wednesday, July 16th, and the luncheon given by the Society of St. Willibrord on Thursday, July 17th, to the Old Catholic Delegation, the former taking place in the famous Guard Room, the guests including the Old Catholics, and the latter which was given in the Holborn Restaurant and was presided over by the Bishop of London, being the occasion—the discussions of both Delegations with the Conference's sub-committee having reached a satisfactory issue—of speeches foreshadowing a triple bond of friendship between the three Churches.

Nevertheless, the Delegation attended the Reception given by Lady Salisbury on July 14th, and other social functions of the Conference; Mr. Athelstan Riley gave a dinner at the Athenæum in honour of the Patriarch and the Archbishop of Utrecht; Mr. Laptew, the Rumanian *chargé d'affaires*, and Mr. Douritch, the Yugo-Slav Minister, gave luncheons in honour of Archbishop Nektarie and Bishop Irenäy. And so on.

His Majesty the King also gave audience to the Patriarch Meletios in the forenoon of Thursday, July 24th.

I have thought it desirable to give a summary of the programme of the Delegation's visit the official period of which terminated on Friday, July 18th, not only because it served to emphasize the significance of the reception the Delegation was accorded in London, but to show that it had ample contacts whereby to estimate the life of the English Church and its place in the nation.

In the winter number of *The Christian East*, I hope to consider in detail the Orthodox and Anglican statements contained in the *résumé* of its discussions with the sub-committee of the Lambeth Conference.

THE GENERAL POSITION OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES AT THE PRESENT TIME.

By Dr. Stefan Zankov.

THE consequences of the Great War and of the Russian Revolution have led to changes in the outward and inward life of the Orthodox Churches surpassing in importance and significance all other changes that occurred in earlier ages. They can be compared with those which took place after the rise of Islam and the subjugation of the south-eastern countries by the Mohammedan forces.

In the north-eastern countries there took place enormous religious and clerical displacements in the sphere of the Great Russian Church. Owing to the new political formations different sections, great or small, detached themselves from the Russian Church and formed new independent Orthodox Churches. These are: (1) the Orthodox Church of Poland (with 5 million adherents, all Russians); (2) the Orthodox Church of Lithuania, with 50,000 adherents approximately, nearly all Russians; (3) the Orthodox Church in Lettland with 200,000 adherents approximately ($\frac{2}{3}$rds Russians and $\frac{1}{3}$rd Letts); (4) the Orthodox Church of Esthonia (over 200,000 adherents, 150,000 Esthonians and 50,000 Russians); (5) the Orthodox Church of Finland (with 70,000 adherents approximately, 50,000 Karelians and Finns, and 17,000 Russians); and, finally, (6) the Orthodox Church of Georgia (in Russia itself, with over two million adherents, Georgians for the greatest part).

In the inner life of the Russian Church there arose two important questions leading similarly to new ecclesiastical formations: the first of them dealt with the position of the Russian Church, including both clergy and laity, in relation to Bolshevism in general (the latter following an atheistical and anti-religious ideology that forms the main principle of the Bolshevist state), and the second dealt with the position of the Church in relation to the Russian Bolshevist State as a social and political system of government. The first question led to an enormous struggle between the Church as a whole and the system of the Bolshevists and their religious policy, a struggle that still continues and which, though issuing in the outward destruction of the ecclesiastical organization has, on the other hand, called forth an intrinsic transformation, a purification, an independence and a strengthening of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Russian Church.

The second question has called forth vehement controversy in the domain of the Church itself, one contesting party wishing to acknowledge the Soviet State as a social system and the other rejecting it. At the present time nearly everybody is inclined to acknowledge this system combined with the principle of complete neutrality on the part of the Church. There still remain differences about the following points of controversy, *i.e.*, whether the churches are to develop a more or less social activity (in the sense of calling for greater social justice) and whether and how far the churches are to introduce a progressive reformation of religious rites and ecclesiastical administration. These contests and struggles are the cause of the schism in the Russian Church, *i.e.*, the division into an old Church (the Patriarchal conservative Church bearing the name of the late Russian Patriarch Tykhon) and a progressive church, the so-called Synodical Regenerated Church, formerly known under the name of the "Living Church." Owing to the fact that the Patriarchal Church of Tykhon produced a great number of martyrs during its struggle against the Bolshevists and that large classes of religious people defended the old traditions, three-quarters of all believers, *i.e.*, 70-80 millions approximately, side with the Patriarchal Church of Tykhon.

The second important question dealt with the national problem of the Ukraine, *i.e.*, with the question of constituting an independent Orthodox Church on the territory of the Bolshevist State of Little Russia. In view of the fact that the Tykhonian Church tolerated at the most the autonomy of the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine, there appeared three new Orthodox formations: the old Patriarchal Tykhonian Church (acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Universal Russian Church of Moscow, but enjoying various privileges); the so-called Orthodox Church of the Ukraine, which possesses no regular hierarchy (as, owing to the lack of bishops, the Church itself consecrated its own—hence the usual name of "self-consecrated"—Samosviaty); and, finally, the Independent Autonomous Church of the Ukraine, which is in fact a creation of the Synodical Regenerated Church of Russia (from which this church originated and by which its independence was granted). All these new formations in Little Russia follow different directions both in the national and in the ecclesiastical sense: the Tykhonian Autonomous Church is conservative in the ecclesiastical sense; the direction of the Orthodox Church of the Ukraine which bestows holy orders on its own authority is radical; and the Synodical Orthodox Church follows a moderate Ukrainian direction. With regard to the number of adherents these churches may be classified as follows: the Synodical Orthodox Church seems to hold the first place; the church mentioned first occupies the second place, and the second mentioned holds the third place.

All the other Orthodox churches (outside Russia) acknowledge unconditionally the authority of the Patriarchal Tykhonian Church; they observe neutrality with regard to the Synodical Regenerated Church and consider as schismatical the Ukrainian Church which consecrated by its own authority.

New political conditions and alterations in frontiers which followed the Great War produced the following new formations in ecclesiastical life:

The national unification of the *Rumanians* led to a unification of all Orthodox Rumanians into a single Rumanian Orthodox Church (on the territory of the kingdom of Rumania) which was raised to a Patriarchate in 1925. As a result, different independent churches lost their independence, as for instance, the Rumanian Orthodox Church of Transylvania (belonging formerly to Hungary) and the Orthodox Church of the Bucovina (formerly Austrian). As well as these, there were added to the Rumanian Patriarchate the provinces of Bessarabia (formerly belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church) and of Southern Dobrudja (formerly adhering to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. At the present time the Rumanian Church holds the second place among the Orthodox churches, with regard to the number of its adherents, which number amounts to 13 million approximately (9,000,000 Russians and 4,000,000 Bulgarians).

The union of the Orthodox Serbs was accompanied by their ecclesiastical unification on the Yugo-Slavia territory. The United Church of Serbia was raised to a Patriarchate in 1920. In view of this fact the churches mentioned hereafter have lost their independence: the Orthodox Churches of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia (formerly Austrian), and the Orthodox Church of Carlowitz (formerly in Hungary). The province of Northern Macedonia was likewise added to the Serbian Patriarchate. The Serbian Church possesses at present 6 million followers (of whom nearly all are Serbs).

A fairly complete union of the *Greek Orthodox Church* of Hellas (Republic of Greece) has been effected owing in the first place to the incorporating of Southern Macedonia and of Western Thrace with Greece (these provinces belonged formerly to Turkey and, ecclesiastically, were directly subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople); and, secondly, to the complete expulsion of the Orthodox Greeks from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace (and partly from Constantinople and the Turkish islands).

The unification of the Orthodox Greeks in Greece has not yet been constitutionally completed, the provinces newly added to Greece still acknowledging, though more or less nominally, the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople; but the unification

exists already in fact, and will, as it seems, be realized constitutionally in the near future. The Orthodox Church of Greece has five million adherents approximately (nearly all of them Greeks).

Owing to the above events and to the ultra-national Turkish government, the ancient, venerable Mother-church of the Orthodox population in Europe, the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, has lost much of its former significance and territory. There are hardly more than 250,000 souls adhering to it.

In Western Asia may be noted the Patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, standing under the protectorate of France and England respectively. What will be the effect of the alteration of political jurisdiction in the Mohammedan-Turkish State and what influence these Christian (but not Orthodox) States will have on the Orthodox life of both Patriarchates is not evident yet.

In the domain of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (or its jurisdiction) there may be noted its loss of adherents which took place with the cession of the provinces of Macedonia, Southern Dobrudja and Thrace. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church possesses five million adherents approximately (nearly all Bulgarians).

After the Great War many of the Ruthenians living in Czechoslovakia (Little Russians from the Russian Carpathian Mountains) belonging to the Roman Catholic Uniat Church (*i.e.*, to the Greek Catholic or the Roman Catholic Church of the Eastern rite) as well as Roman Catholic Czechs, left their church for the Orthodox and formed an Autonomous Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia with over 200,000 adherents. The conversion of the Ruthenians and the Czechs to the Orthodox Church, as well as the consolidating of the latter is still proceeding.

Finally, the Orthodox people of Albania (almost all Albanians) left the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the beginning of the last year and proclaimed an *Independent Orthodox Church of Albania* (against the will, and notwithstanding the protest, of the above-mentioned Patriarchate). The Orthodox Church of Albania possesses nearly 200,000 followers.

In the external condition of the Orthodox Patriarchate of *Alexandria*, of the Church of Cyprus, and the Orthodox Missionary Churches of North America and Japan, no changes are to be noted.

THE FUNERAL OF THE SERBIAN PATRIARCH, DMITRI.

"IT is the last hour. It is the end."

The priest who spoke the words was standing at the head of a flight of stairs at the Patriarchia, his bearded face working with emotion. A curious stillness lay upon the building: the enquirers climbed upwards with hushed steps, and read the verdict in the bearing of the few people who stood on the landing. Occasionally a closed door opened, and a bishop came out to speak with some new arrival, and then slipped back again into the room where the Patriarch Dmitri, fearless and unperplexed like the fine old warrior he was, lay dying with his bishops and priests gathered round him.

"It is the last hour," sighed the priest, and he spoke the truth. Exactly an hour later the soul passed out from the weary body, and began that mysterious journey on which the bishops and priests would fain have followed it, as children like to go with their father, at least for a little bit of the way, when he leaves home. The body was carried across the road into the cathedral, and they went with it. They stood around it to sing and read about the mansions of the Blest, they kissed the Ikon lying on the coffin, they folded their hands on the lid and prayed to the God of the Spirits of all flesh. Antony, the aged Metropolitan of Russian, leaned on the arm of a monk and made his way to that sacred spot: bowed his venerable white head, and mourned that there must be this parting—perhaps only a short one—between himself and his old friend.

The Patriarch Dmitri died on Sunday, April 6th. Throughout Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the people came to say good-bye to the quiet figure that lay in the centre of the church. All sorts of people came—crippled soldiers, and Cabinet Ministers, foreigners and generals, peasants and diplomats—walking in under the black draperies and treading softly because of the dead: and yet reminded always, by the solemn chanting and outbursts of song, of the living soul, winging its way hopefully towards the celestial regions, met by choirs of angels, welcomed by the company of the saints.

Something remained to be done, however, for the body that had through eighty-four long years obeyed the behests of that active and unselfish soul. Its resting-place must be prepared, and it must be escorted thither with the pomp that is required for a Patriarch

of the Orthodox Church, and with the respect that is due to a good man. Bishops and clergy came hurrying up from the far dioceses of Yugo-Slavia, students gathered from the seminaries, heads of societies and institutions from their various centres. When Thursday dawned in the uncertain mood of April, a great assembly was waiting.

Only a small part of them could be received into the cathedral, for it had been wisely decided that there should be no crowding, and the arrangements were admirably carried out. The air was full of soft chanting until the moment when the King and Queen entered, with the Prince Paul and the Princess Olga: then it died away, and gave place to "Our Father," and to responses exquisitely sung by the choir. The service was very short, and there were only two speeches to remind the congregation of the faithfulness and devotion of God's servant Dmitri: one was by the Bishop of Cetinje, and the other by the Minister of Justice.

Slowly they passed out of the cathedral, slowly they walked round its grey walls before they went down into the street—the Royal Family, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and Diplomatic Ministers, the bishops and priests, the representatives of other churches, Roman Catholic, Old Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and of other creeds, Jewish and Moslem. These joined with the ordered throng outside to make up the great procession that filed through the waiting people along the streets of the capital city and out to the hills beyond.

A pageant of life and colour it was, led by the black cross that bore the words *Dmitri, Serbian Patriarch,* and the dish of boiled wheat that symbolizes resurrection. Next came the wreaths of laurel and of flowers, and the decorations, borne on cushions by a band of black-robed men: so many brilliant orders and glowing ribbons—far more than a man could wear—now left behind for ever! There were choirboys in red robes, with cathedral banners, and in sharp contrast, a group of tiny boys, poorly dressed, from some Home or Orphanage: there were Scouts and Guides, and members of the Soko and the Y.M.C.A.: there was the military band, with muffled drum, the Choral society who sang their haunting anthems at different points of the route: the black-clad Russian nuns and seminary students, and the little group of family mourners. All these last looked sombre enough, but they prepared the way for a glorious feast of colour that lit up the grey streets like a sun. The priests and deacons were in red and violet and blue, the bishops were in gold and silver and white, with rich embroideries and glittering crosses, and golden staffs: and these divided into two long lines and paced along with stately mien, dignified with flowing beards, like the priests of Solomon's Temple.

Behind them came the black coffin on its black carriage: and then the King and the Prince, the ministers and the statesmen, the diplomats and the representatives. They came on and on, a cloud of black-coated figures, with a brilliant ribbon peeping out here and there from a dark overcoat: and then women representing the many women's societies of Yugo-Slavia, and the long line of cavalry and gun carriages that closed the scene.

So it passed through the city, with here and there a pause for another speech of remembrance, and down the steep hill towards Topchider and out to the country: for it was not in Belgrade that the people of Yugo-Slavia buried their Patriarch.

Five or six miles beyond the city there is a narrow valley, by name Rakovica, lying sheltered and green among the hills: and here in a quiet enclosure is a little church and simple monastery. Close to the white walls of the church a grave had been dug, and here the last prayers were said, and the last farewells spoken.

Overhead the jackdaws flew amongst the trees with straw and wool for nests in their busy beaks: underfoot the dandelions spangled the grass with gold: and when the cortège arrived at the monastery gate the bells clashed out, and Metropolitan Antony, a beautiful figure in his white robes, met it and turned slowly back with it to the open grave.

The solemn service was said and sung. The Minister for the Russian Emigrés paid his last tribute of thankfulness for all the kindness and protection which the Patriarch Dmitri had shown to the Russians: the Arch-priest of Belgrade spoke, and the President of the Officers' Reserve Association, and the Orthodox Bishop from Czechoslovakia: and a woman, whose clear voice dwelt on the fact that the Serbian Church was ever the strength and the soul of the Serbian nation. And then the coffin was lowered into the grave: the bishops, the Prime Minister, and the mourners scattered the earth upon it. The ceremony was over: the tired body had come home to rest.

Slowly the bishops turned away: Metropolitan Antony was helped into the Monastery: the Ministers went out from the enclosure to their waiting cars: and as they left the gates the first of the pilgrims entered them—that long succession of peasants and country-folk and gipsies and townspeople who wished to see the Patriarch's grave. They came up quietly and thoughtfully to the spot where the Serbian Bishop from America, with another Bishop at his side, still stood at the foot of the grave, as if they were loth to leave the peaceful garden of Rakovica and Dmitri's place of rest.

Many feet will turn thither in the next few weeks, and many thoughts too. Not only the grateful thoughts and memories of the people of Yugo-Slavia, but the salutations of other lands. For

the Patriarch Dmitri was not one who thought only of his own duty and his own church: his heart was large enough to be concerned for the joys and sorrows of Christians of other races. "The barriers between us are only man-made," he used to say. "Jesus Christ knows no frontiers."

A portrait and biography of the new Serb Patriarch, Mgr. Barnabas will appear in the winter CHRISTIAN EAST.

RUSSIANS CONFER ON CHRISTIAN CULTURE.

By DR. DONALD A. LOWRIE.

THE place is one of the dozen or more crude barracks in a French *camp de vacance*, an hour from Paris, furnished with a few benches and a speakers' table. There are present thirty or forty Russian folk, men and women, mostly in the forties. To the uninitiated it seems a rather commonplace group. But when it is remarked that among these people, gathered for a three-day conference, there are leaders of the most radically opposed political and social groupings, a phenomenon almost unheard of in Russian life, interest awakens. And as the topic is announced and the first discussion begins, the meeting is recognized as so unusual as almost to be epoch-making.

The problem under discussion is that of Orthodox culture—culture as it should be, if informed and inspired by Christianity as expressed in the Orthodox Church. The committee which has called the meeting contains names prominent in Russian philosophy: Father Bulgakov, once a Marxist professor, now a fiery mystic, professor in the Russian Theological Academy; Nicolai Berdiaeff, unquestionably the most significant religious philosopher Russia has produced in the last forty years; Professor Fedotoff, former professor in Soviet Russian universities; Elizabeth Skobtzova, one-time secretary of Trotsky, authoress and journalist; Professor Zenkovsky, leading Russian authority in pedagogy, and president of the Russian Student Christian Movement. This group have invited those present to discuss with them "some problems of Russian Orthodox culture, and questions of organization connected with creative effort in this direction." It sounds almost impossibly simple.

Another phrase in the invitation explains part of the reasons behind the present meeting: "In view of all that is happening in Russia." "If we could spent one minute in Russia to-day," one

speaker said, " the necessity for united effort would be so plain to us that all our difficulties and differences would appear insignificant." When in Russia the most complete and determined attempt is being made to implant a new, materialistic culture, an effort which involves the complete eradication of all cultures previously existent, it lays upon all those still free to do so, the obligation of preserving what was good in the old, or at least studying the question whether there is anything worth preservation. These leaders of Russian thought have come together to consider whether the Christianity of Russia has any message for the world of to-day and to-morrow.

But it is not alone the organized effort to " smother " religion in Russia which actuates the present group. As one leader pointed out, most of modern life, within Russia or outside it, is secularized—religious life is limited to the individual and even in this stage often confined to one day or a few hours on Sunday. Religion as such has little bearing on life as a whole. This fact has been noted a hundred times before, by all sorts of Christian thinkers in the west : noted and tacitly accepted, if not *de jure*, at least *de facto*. The Russians note, but organize to protest against it.

Even a pig will look up if flat on his back, the old proverb says. The same remark has been passed about those centres of deepened spiritual life for which the Russian emigration is so remarkable. Another reason for calling the present meeting was the intention to prove to the world that this allegation does not apply to Russians in exile. The desire to offer, in a new " intelligentsia " truly and practically Christian, a demonstration that in evil fortune or in good, Christianity can inform the whole of Russian life, has motivated this meeting.

In a sense this is a very new movement : Christianity in Russia has always viewed with some distrust the creative efforts of modern " social " Christianity. The reason for this attitude is simply the consciousness that in the last analysis the Kingdom of God will not be completed here, by human hands alone. The events of the last fifteen years in Russia, however, and contact during ten years of emigration with the Christianity of the west, have demanded a new attitude—what is the place of cultural effort in a life which is to be truly and completely Christian ? How define this attitude, for those whose Christianity is expressed in the Eastern Orthodox Church ?

Characteristically, the discussion opened without a preliminary definition of culture. But the various illuminations this question received in the course of the first day, demanded a summary of the opinions expressed. Here are some of them, said a prominent young poet : " For me the gospel must express love, man's interest in other people. The world is not evil, it is merely enmeshed in evil. For me Christian culture is the process of making the whole world Christian."

" Christian culture is that which helps me live in a Christian way," another said. He is a leading physician in Paris. " Culture," said one of the philosophers present, " is the necessary bridge between nature and the Grace of God. You cannot assert that simple faith in Christ will guarantee a Christian culture. Christianity, for instance, would never guarantee the permanent existence of a nation. Culture must concern itself creatively with this world's problems." This last seemed as good a definition as was necessary at the moment, and the group left it there. It is hard to imagine an Anglo-Saxon meeting contenting itself with a phrase like " the bridge between nature and the Grace of God."

This was one characteristic note in the meeting. But the severest realism and self-criticism was also evident. Even a mystic like Bulgakov was relentless in his demand for Christian creative activity in the world. " Civilization is forced upon us," he urged, " we cannot escape it if we would. Our lives are bound up with it, and formed by it. Even a monastery often depends for its light on current generated outside, and for the monks to say ' that does not concern us, we merely use it,' would be like ourselves trying to avoid responsibility for creative activity in the world we live in."

Professor Fedotoff was even more severe. " The trouble with Orthodox Christianity in the past," he asserted, " has been its devotion to the monastic ideal, with laymen vainly trying to live by rule-books written for monks on Mt. Athos. And the trouble with us in the present is simply laziness ; it is so much easier to spend time in theoretical discussions like this, or shut up in our small pious study circles, than it is to face the hard, grey work of making society more Christian. We must enter the world as it is, its science, its social and æsthetic life, and struggle to infuse them with Christianity, if we are to be worthy of our calling. There is Christian work to be done in the cafés and laboratories and the Press-rooms of the world. We need to go forth from our monastery into the world."

The western reader who thinks of this as merely another instance of the " social gospel " will be mistaken. It is true that one speaker after another demanded " work in the world," " the creation of a wholly Christian society," but this is not so simple. It involves the definite effort to make a completely new beginning, to institute a culture which shall be consciously and intentionally orthodox. And in the Russian phrase that is merely another way of saying " completely Christian."

How different this is from what is so easily called the social gospel, may be seen from some of the proposals for immediate practical action. First a series of small organizations, each confined to one profession, doctors, engineers, journalists. These groups are to be not merely study circles—they are a sort of fraternity, whose purpose

is to investigate and attempt to put into practice the implication for Christianity in their professions. Imagine a group of Christian physicians in London or Chicago banded together in a sort of lay-order, undertaking to realize the fullness of the Christian faith in their professional life. The word lay-order is used to indicate what for the Orthodox is a self-evident feature of the organization proposed: life in the Church. To the average Christian of the west outside Roman Catholic and Anglican groups such a practical Christian organization might have little or no connection with the Church as organized in Protestantism. To the Orthodox the whole of Christian effort must be savoured with the life of the Church. These study-practice groups will be organized in closest contact with the Church and under its spiritual leadership. This is surely an approach to the problem of Christian culture, quite new for the west.

The plan proposed includes other groups beside these fellowships, some of them more like the study-groups familiar to western Christian life, especially in universities. Some of the topics proposed are the interpretation of Orthodox Church dogma for modern times, the Christian solution of pressing social problems, and the study of Protestantism and Catholicism in line with the œcumenical tendencies of our age. For all of these, parallels are to be found in England and America, although one has heard of only exceptional cases of the last named, such as those initiated in the United States by "The Inquiry." It should be noted that these study circles are not proposed for university students, as part of a whole atmosphere of theoretical education; they are to be organized by men and women in the thick of life's battles, faithful to their own Church, and striving to make their own life truly Christian in all its phases. This is a group profoundly convinced of the completeness of truth in their own Church, yet they are humbly seeking fuller acquaintance with the other great divisions of Christendom. Acquaintance must precede friendship.

In this particular point, by the way, action has preceded theory. The remarkable relationship built up between Russians and Anglicans in the past four years, of which the Fellowship of St. Albans and St. Sergius is an organized example, is almost equalled in quantity, if not in organized form, by the friendly liaison between Orthodox and Catholics in France and Belgium. Suppose Christians of the west were to take seriously the task of acquaintance laid upon them by our modern œcumenical spirit. Suppose in a hundred centres or a thousand—there could be groups of earnest men and women seeking to know more deeply the implications of their own Church connection for their daily lives and at the same time actively engaged in a better acquaintance with their neighbours of other Christian confessions. How would it affect the chauvinism which so often mars

inter-Church relations ? How much easier would be the work of the next Stockholm or Lausanne conference !

One other item of special interest to western Christians must be noted. It has long been the fashion to think of the Eastern Church as passive, introspective, the monastic type in our half-derogatory Protestant use of that term. Practically every speaker in this meeting urged the necessity of Christianizing the daily life of the world. The severest self-criticism was directed against that part of Orthodox Christianity which had given insufficient attention to this phase of the Christian life. And it must be remarked that here, again, the work of the participants of the conference has preceded the enunciation of their theory. For five years most of these leaders have been active in the Russian Student Christian Movement, which has developed a well-rounded programme of religious education, of social work including such varied items as hospital visitation and dispensary work, summer camps for boys and girls, social clubs for young people and organizations of boy scouts and girl guides. All of these have been successfully carried on in the face of the almost overwhelming difficulties of *émigré* life in poverty, depression and deprivation of all national rights. The group at the conference, then, were not talking pure theory ; their practice of the past five years has demonstrated the truth of their theoretical propositions.

This new conviction about the cultural implication of Christianity is based on other elements beside the bitter personal deprivation of the life of the *émigrés*. One of these facts has been the constructive observation of other Christian communities, Protestant and Catholic, with which they have come in contact. Time and again in this meeting reference was made to such observations. One summary of the essentials of Protestant and Catholic culture in so far as such exist seems worth including here. In the west the relation between culture and civilization is consonant with that between the Church and what is outside it. In Protestantism we find a separation of the religious responsibility of the individual from his participation in other phases of life. This participation is theoretically based on the strictest moral principles. It is a truly sincere effort to save religious culture from a non-religious civilization, but the salvation is purchased at too dear a price, the isolation of religion to a tiny corner of the individual's experience and the abandonment of the rest of life to the secular.

In Catholicism the truest effort to penetrate the whole of civilization by the Church is conceived as a problem of hierarchical decision and authority. In Orthodoxy this penetration is proposed from within, as a matter of the very essence of the Christian life. Even in old Russia the life of the common people, agriculture, the family, the whole commerce of daily existence was carried on, in form at

least, under the aroma of the Christian faith. As the peasant proverb has it: "Poverty we have, and obedience we have: if only we did not swear, we should be saints."

The other factor in recent experience which made this meeting necessary was, as the invitation stated, events in Russia, not merely the effort to crush religion there, but the supreme emphasis on socialism and all its allied theories. The Church in Russia, where the machinery of the Church has been completely shattered and where not even a diocesan organization is permitted, where religious literature and religious discussion are forbidden, is powerless to attack the theoretical side of these problems. Here in emigration there is freedom for thought and organized discussion. And it is clear to all that the Church in Russia must have a message for the social problems of humanity as well as for its purely devotional interests. "In the Russia of the future we must have a form of life, of modern technical civilization penetrated through and through with Christianity which will command the respect and win the loyalty of the people," was the way one man expressed a general conviction.

While not all present would agree with one speaker who insisted that "the future fate of the Orthodox Church depends on how she teaches people to solve social problems," the general tone of the meeting proves how consciously the Orthodox Church as represented in this group of prominent thinkers faces the need for new consideration of what is for the Eastern Church a newly presented problem; Christian culture or quite secular civilization? But again the distinction between the typical Anglo-Saxon approach to this problem and that of Orthodoxy must be emphasized. To the "practical" west the solution is self-evidently to be sought in the empirical. The Orthodox world will find the answer first of all in the spiritual, which must give its characteristic flavour to the whole of life. The incense is only a small part of the Church service, but it so penetrates vestments, furniture, the walls of the Church itself, that even after years of disuse, the characteristic fragrance is still discernible. So the spirit of the Church must penetrate all the phases of human life, to make a culture truly Christian.

One other note of interest to western observers was the fact that this meeting, burdened with the modern needs of the Orthodox Church, consisted almost entirely of laymen. Only one clergyman was present, although the Archbishop was only accidentally prevented from taking part. It has always been typical of Russian Orthodoxy that its greatest thinkers, even in the realm of pure theology, have been laymen. The present movement is true to tradition. Although it has the approval and co-operation of the hierarchy, it remains essentially a lay group, independent of ecclesiastical authority. Nothing could better illustrate how the essential

democracy of the Eastern Church has been preserved in practice as well as theory down through nineteen centuries to a day when the whole world tries to think in democratic terms.

The meeting resulted in no formal resolutions, no set organization. A continuation committee was appointed to co-ordinate the experimentation outlined above. As one member said, "We do not need resolutions, we need to continue our search." Both the motives behind this search, and the methods it employs, are sufficiently individual to be brought to the attention of western readers.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE AND NATIONALITY.

By Canon J. A. Douglas, Ph.D.

FOR the Orthodox all jurisdictions are *de jure ecclesiastico* and not *de jure divino*. That is to say, having in the first instance been established by the Church for the general well-being, they can always be changed at her discretion. It was thus, as the Orthodox read history, that the Fourth Œcumenical Council (Chalcedon) in 454 divided the then known world, excepting only the autokephalous island of Cyprus, into the five great jurisdictional Patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, and among them, since they were the sister mother cities of Christendom, prescribed a primacy first to Rome and then to Constantinople. That primacy was of dignity and of initiative, but in no sense of supremacy. All of the five Patriarchates were autokephalous. Of course, they were subject altogether to an Œcumenical Council of the Whole Church, but neither Rome nor Constantinople could touch their internal affairs with the tip of a finger.

Except that after the Great Schism of 1054, Rome disappeared from the Orthodox Œcumenical system and that under the Canons of the Council of Chalcedon, Constantinople took over jurisdiction provisionally in the West as having become "barbaric" lands, no change was made in the jurisdictional system set up by that Council until century XVI.

The swiftest glance at history will convince anyone that undoubtedly it was then for the good of the Church that an autokephalous Church should be set up for Russia which had grown into a mighty and independent sovereign empire and claimed to be the Eastern heir of Imperial Rome.

But how was it to be done?

The country was only a province of the Œcumenical Patriarchate as the Patriarchate of Constantinople has been designated since century VI. With the other three Eastern Patriarchates and Cyprus in helotage to the Turk, no Œcumenical Council could be called together.

If Jeremias II, the then Œcumenical Patriarch, had wished, nothing could have been easier than for him to have turned a blind eye on the needs of the Church and to have postponed the Russian question to the Greek Kalends by saying that until an Œcumenical Council authorized the removal of Russia from his jurisdiction, it must remain in it. But he himself devised the way to meet the emergency. At the risk of angering the suspicious Turk, he went to Moscow and issued there a *tomos* or bull as we Westerners call it, renouncing jurisdiction over his Russian province and proclaiming that it had been transformed into a Russian Patriarchate. The other four autokephalous churches concurred and *nem. con.* Orthodox canonists have since held that pending the meeting of an Œcumenical Council, if and when the autokephalous church from which it is to be formed consent and the other autokephalous churches recognize the act, a new autokephalous church can be brought into being.

The principle, however, remains that except by a canon of the Œcumenical Council, no autokephalous church can be deprived of any of its territory without its own consent. All readjustments made since the Council of Chalcedon are, therefore, held to have been made by *Economy* and will come up for revision, if and when the eighth Œcumenical Council meets.

As to whether Jeremias II's *fait accompli* had had valid precedents in the setting up the Patriarchates of Ipek, Ochrida and Trnovo for the mediæval Serb, Bulgar and Rumanian Tsardoms is doubtful; for, though the Œcumenical Patriarchate set them up, it is certain neither that it renounced jurisdiction over them nor that the other Patriarchates explicitly recognized their autokephaly.

But in any case, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has followed the precedent which it set in 1587 consistently.

Thus in 1765 it issued a *tomos* for the setting up of that Patriarchate of Karlowicz which was merged in 1918 with the Church of Serbia and which it judged to be desirable for the well-being of the Serbs who had trekked over the Austrian border to escape from Turkish tyranny. In the same year it issued a *tomos* for the autokephaly of the Serbs of Montenegro who had vindicated their independence of the Sultans and who are now also merged in the Serbian Patriarchate.

No other opportunity for its self-effacement presented itself to

the Œcumenical Patriarchate, however, until the opening of century XIX, when the Orthodox races of the Balkans began to achieve their own liberation from Moslem helotage. But in no case has the Œcumenical Patriarchate failed to follow the precedent which it set in 1587. As soon as a new sovereign state was established in the Balkans it recognized that the good of the whole church required the setting up of a new autokephalous church coterminous with its boundaries. Thus by the issue of a *tomos* it brought into being the national autokephalous churches of Hellas 1850, Serbia 1879, and Rumania 1885, and in doing so parted with a large fraction both of its jurisdiction and of its revenues.[1]

Certainly, a good many years were taken up in each case after the independent national state became an independent sovereign state and before the *tomos* was issued, but that was inevitable not so much because complex questions of property had to be settled as because it was the Œcumenical Patriarchate's duty to see that the organic law of each church which it brought into being gave its spirituality effective independence of secular control. It had to steer between that Scylla of which Western Europe has had so much evil experience, the abuse of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction by foreigners to influence the politics of a nation and that Charybdis by which the English Church has suffered so much injury, the exploitation of a national Church by the State. But the currency of the legend—it probably owes its origin to the tendencious writers such as Dr. Adrian Fortescue—that the Œcumenical Patriarchate has always been opposed to the recognition of nationality as a basis for delimiting ecclesiastical jurisdiction is a phenomenon which passes comprehension.

To the most superficial student of history the Œcumenical Patriarchate stands out as the protagonist of nationality. Not, of course, as of canonical necessity, but as a working rule for the welfare of the Church, it has evolved almost as a principle the policy that in every sovereign state in which there exists a sufficient body of Orthodox to constitute an autokephalous church and in which the Government may be relied upon not to interfere in things spiritual, an autokephalous Orthodox Church ought to be established.

As things fell out, until after the Great War, no possibility occurred for the setting up of a new Orthodox autokephalous Church other than those carved out of its own jurisdiction. But

[1] In 1864 it issued a *tomos* for the formation of the Orthodox of Transylvania into the Patriarchate of Hermannotadt, and in 1873 for the formation of those of the Bukovina into that of Czernowicz. Both of these were merged into Church of Rumania after the War. The Church of Rumania became a Patriarchate in 1926.

in the post-War period, it has acted with consistency in declaring provisionally—even though the chaos in Russia has prevented the issue of a *tomos* by the Russian Patriarch—that the Churches of Poland 1923 and Georgia 1922, are autokephalous and that the churches of other succession states in which the Orthodox are in small minorities and the Governments of which are less to be relied upon, are autonomous, *i.e.*, subject to an appeal to itself for protection and for final jurisdiction, are self-governing. For these latter reasons also it has recently refused to issue a *tomos* itself for that autokephaly of an Albanian Church by which Ahmed Zogu had planned to get control of the spirituality and the property of the Orthodox Church in Albania where two-thirds of the people are Moslems or Latins.

The breach between the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Bulgar Church which is so often quoted as evidence of the former's hostility to nationality took place thirty-four years before Bulgaria became an independent sovereign state in 1906 and indeed before the Bulgars had won any form of independence at all from the Turks.

From its interspersion of Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs and Rumanians, Macedonia had furnished French cookery with the culinary term *macédoine* for a mixed compot of fruits. In the twenty years between the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish Wars it had been the theatre of Panslavist preparation for the next Russian push towards Constantinople. In the 'seventies the Bulgars who were ripe to throw off their Turkish helotage, were the special protégés of the Tsar Alexander II. Now by the *millet* system which before the War had prevailed from time immemorial in all Moslem lands, each Christian Church in Turkey formed a self-contained, if altogether subject, community with rights of internal self-government which, when it was protected by a strong foreign power, was very substantial. Accordingly, the directors of the Russian forward policy in the Balkans, stirred up the Bulgars to demand that they should be made an independent *millet*, that is to say, an autokephalous Church. The Sublime Porte was thoroughly frightened at the idea of providing the Panslavists with an effective instrument of permeation in the Balkans, but gave way under the threats of the Russian ambassador and in 1870 reluctantly issued the necessary *iradé* for the establishment of a Bulgar Exarchate, *i.e.*, for the erection of a new *millet* in which all who declared themselves Bulgars were to be included. Although the conditions for the erection of a new autokephalous church as set forth above had not been satisfied, the Œcumenical Patriarchate was ready to stretch a point and issue a *tomos* renouncing its jurisdiction over the lands which by history and population were

truly Bulgar, but it could not accept the demand put forward by the Bulgars at the Tsar's bidding that *wherever there were Bulgars they should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the new Bulgar Exarch.*

That demand meant the negation of the Œcumenical canonical principle that in one place there can only be one bishop and to concede it would have been a treachery. The Œcumenical Patriarchate offered, indeed, to secure that wherever there were Bulgars, what we should call a suffragan Bulgar bishop should be appointed to have care of them and that they should thereby be secured the use of their Slav language, the observance of their racial customs and so on.

The Bulgar Exarch, however, set up bishops in Macedonia and Thrace and the Panslavist agents got busy applying the reverse of peaceful methods to persuade the Greek and Serb peasants of the Balkan *macédoine* to register in the new Bulgar *millet* or church. If a village did not declare itself Bulgar, a *comitadji* visited and converted it with fire and sword. The Greeks and Serbs whose views as to what was to happen when the Sick Man of Europe died, were different from the Panslavists, retaliated and reconverted them. The hapless country became a chaos. The Turk took fright, indulged in the famous Bulgar atrocities and the Russo-Turkish War followed in 1875. Meanwhile in 1872 after waiting two years for a happier solution, the Sacred Synod of Constantinople, under the Patriarch Anthimos, pronounced the Bulgar claim that wherever Bulgars live they are under the jurisdiction of a Bulgar bishop, to be the error of Phyletism—from phyle, a race—or racialism. Since then the Bulgars have been in schism with the Greeks.

The tragic extirpation of all Christians except the Greeks from Constantinople and from what remains of Turkey and the re-adjustments of the map which have followed the Great War, have settled the question of jurisdiction in the Balkans, and the Bulgar Church may be expected to repudiate phyletism and to petition the Œcumenical Patriarchate for a *tomos* in the near future.

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Ἐκκλ. Ἀλήθεια. Ὁδὸς Τυπογραφείου 179, Athens.
Tserkovnia Vedomosti. The Russian Synod, Kariowics.
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